The University of Chicago

The History of the Doctrine of Christian Perfection in the Evangelical Association

A DISSERTATION

SUBMITTED TO THE FACULTY
OF THE
GRADUATE SCHOOL OF ARTS AND LITERATURE
IN CANDIDACY FOR THE DEGREE OF
DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

DEPARTMENT OF SYSTEMATIC THEOLOGY
IN THE GRADUATE DIVINITY SCHOOL

BY

RALPH KENDALL SCHWAB

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To

RUBY DREISBACH SCHWAB

My Loving Wife

This Volume Is Affectionately

Dedicated

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ABBREVIATIONS

Name of Work	*Published*	*Author*	*Abbreviation*
Albrecht und Miller	1834	G. Miller (printer)	A. M.
Albright and His Co-Laborers	1879	R. Yeakel	A. C.
History of the Evangelical Association 2 volumes	1894	R. Yeakel	Y. H. I or Y. H. II
Evangelical Annals	1900	A. Stapleton	E. A.
Life and Time of Albright	1917	A. Stapleton	L. T. A.
Flashlights on Evangelical History	1908	A. Stapleton	F. E. H.
History of the Evangelical Association	1857	W. W. Orwig	O. H.
History of the Evangelical Association	1913	S. P. Spreng	S. H.
Evangelical Landmarks	1888	S. C. Breyfogel	E. L.
Evangelical Centennial Celebration	1917	Shortess and Gramley	E. C. C.
Historical Review of the Disturbance	1894	Thos. Bowman	H. R.
Reminiscences	1911	Wm. Yost	Rem.
Life of Bishop Seybert	1888	S. P. Spreng	S. L. S.
Life of Bishop Long	1897	R. Yeakel	Y. L. L.
Voices on Holiness	1882	H. J. Bowman	V. H.
Commentary on the Discipline	1899	R. Yeakel	Y. C. D.
Evangelical Messenger	1848–1920		E. M.
Christliche Botschafter	1836–1920		C. B.
Living Epistle	1869–1907		Ep.
Evangelische Magazin	1869–1920		Mag.
At the Graves of my Comrades in the the Gospel	1891	James O. Lehr	G. C. G.

INTRODUCTION

It is the purpose of this dissertation to present the history of the doctrine of Christian perfection in the Evangelical Association during the years 1800 to 1920.

Previous to our undertaking of the task, no one has attempted to give a careful, complete, historical account of the origin, adoption, and subsequent fortunes of this doctrine in this church. Many Evangelical authors have, however, busied themselves with other problems, and we shall find their writings of great value as sources of material and of help in the solution of our particular problem.

Let us name some of these earlier writers and briefly indicate the extent to which they have touched upon our subject:

1. First and most important, as a source of materials and as a guide, is Reuben Yeakel's peerless two-volume "History of the Evangelical Association," published in 1894, in which he covers the years 1750-1875 most carefully and as much in detail as space permits. Naturally he refers to the facts connected with the doctrine of Christian perfection, as he goes along in his chronological history of the church; but he does not try to assemble them, nor does he relate them to each other genetically. We find, scattered through the pages of his history, phrases, sentences, and paragraphs referring to entire sanctification and Christian perfection,—

disconnected fragments and fleeting glimpses they are, but not a history. The best and longest historical sketches that Yeakel gives are on pp. 57-59 and 146-152 of Vol. II. And then, Yeakel's history closes with the year 1875, leaving the last forty-five years untouched.

2. The book next in value is Yeakel's "Albright and His Co-Laborers," a work of 335 pages, published in 1879. It is primarily biographical, giving the interesting life stories of Jacob Albright, John Walter, George Miller and John Dreisbach; but, in describing the religious beliefs and experiences of the founder of the church and his three prominent co-workers, Yeakel gives us considerable information as to the place of importance which they accorded the doctrine of entire sanctification or Christian perfection in their own lives, and in their preaching, and in their selection and shaping up of a doctrinal system for the church. The book is very valuable for the beginnings of a history of this doctrine.

3. A third book, which is of great value for our study, is H. J. Bowman's "Voices on Holiness," of 254 pages, published in 1882. Of its nature and purpose the author himself says in the preface, "It is not a connected discussion of the subject of which it treats, and yet the reader will find its theme discussed in a variety of ways, by the different authors whose voices here speak. . . . My object was to show what the views of the Evangelical Association are, as held and publicly expressed by our leading men, through all the history of our

Church." Reuben Yeakel, writing the introduction for this book, says, "Voices on Holiness will be very valuable as a repertory and a book of reference, concerning what Evangelical authorities have said on the vital doctrine of holiness." The book is a miscellaneous collection of more than 70 "voices" on Christian perfection. These voices are those of God; the discipline; general conference; catechism; hymnbook; Albright, Walter, Miller; Dreisbach, Fisher, Young and Hartzler, editors; Seybert, Long, Orwig, Esher, Yeakel, Dubs and Bowman, bishops; Hammer, Lauer, and Wiest, publishers; Rhoads, Schnerr and J. Yeakel, authors; and nine men and women, prominent holiness advocates. They are not chronologically arranged however, for no history of the doctrine is attempted. On pp. 13-21 of the book Bowman has a short history of the article on Christian perfection mostly as developed in the Methodist Episcopal Church. The last two pages only sketch its history in the Evangelical Association.

4. The fourth book of importance for our historical purposes is the "Historical Review of the Disturbance in the Evangelical Association," of 207 pages, published in 1894, written by Bishop Thomas Bowman, covering the period 1859–1893. In pages 3-17 Bishop Bowman shows that the controversy over the doctrine of Christian perfection which was at its height from 1859–1870 was one of the causes or factors contributing to the disruption of the Evangelical Association in 1887 and the final formation of the United Evangelical Church as a separate body in 1891 and 1894.

But Bowman's sketch, while good as an outline for those eleven years, is only a hurried sketch drawn as a sort of a background or setting for the division in the church, the real purpose of his book.

In addition to these there are several biographical works which, though written about certain persons especially, still add their quota for the whole church:

"Seybert's Leben und Wirken," 1862, by S. Neitz.

"Bishop Joseph Long," 1897, by R. Yeakel.

"Reminiscences," 1865, by Henry Boehm.

"The Life and Time of Jacob Albright," 1917, by A. Stapleton.

"The Life and Labors of Bishop John Seybert," 1888, by S. P. Spreng.

"Esher's Life and Works," 1907, by William Horn.

"Reminiscences," an autobiography, 1911, by William Yost.

Four of the original diaries of John Dreisbach of the years 1813–1817.

"At the Graves of the Fathers and My Comrades in the Gospel, Since 1854 to 1891," by James O. Lehr. Published in 1891 by the Eagle Book Co., Reading, Pa.

There are several doctrinal and theological books which make their contributions at various times:

"Practical Christianity," 1814, George Miller.

Bishop Seybert's personal copy of "The Christian's Manual of Christian Perfection," 1826, by T. Merritt.

"The Old Way," 1869, by S. G. Rhoads.
"Die Heilsfuelle," 1872, by Wm. W. Orwig.
"Die Heiligung des Menschen," 1884, by Jesse Yeakel.
"Commentary on the Discipline," 1899, by R. Yeakel.
"Christliche Theologie," 3 vols., 1901, by J. J. Esher.
"The Sinner and His Saviour," 1906, by S. P. Spreng.
"The Great Salvation," 1909, by Thos. Bowman.
"Systematic Theology," 1913, by S. J. Gamertsfelder.

And also a few more historical works that have been of some assistance:

"History of the Evangelical Association," 1857, by W. W. Orwig.
"Landmarks of the Evangelical Association," 1888, by S. C. Breyfogel.
"Annals of the Evangelical Association," 1900, by A. Stapleton.
"Flashlights on Evangelical History," 1908, by A. Stapleton.
"History of the Evangelical Association," 1913, by S. P. Spreng.
"Evangelical Centennial Celebration, 1816-1916," 1917, by J. D. Shortess and A. D. Gramley.
American Church History Series, see "Evangelical Association."

Then there are the disciplines, catechisms, hymn books, church papers and periodicals, con-

ference journals, etc., of the Evangelical Association and the United Evangelical Church that are veritable storehouses of doctrinal and historical treasure, from which I drew very largely.

Having canvassed the field, having noticed the fragmentary and unconnected nature of the historical work done so far by the writers of the church, relative to the doctrine of entire sanctification or Christian perfection in the Evangelical Association and the United Evangelical Church, knowing the fundamental and important place which this doctrine has always occupied in the experience, thought, and preaching of the followers of Jacob Albright, recalling the prolonged controversy over this teaching which helped on an unhappy division in the church, seeing the great amount of material that has accumulated during one hundred and twenty years, 1800 to 1920, upon this subject, still unorganized, and feeling sure that the work will be of great value and aid to those who would like to know the history and influence of this doctrine in the church, and of especial interest to the ministers and people of the two Evangelical churches concerned, we shall undertake the task of putting together the results of a painstaking and careful research into a straightforward history of the doctrine of Christian perfection in the Evangelical Association, including under that term the United Evangelical Church, which is truly, in genius and spirit, still one with the Evangelical Association.

CHAPTER I

THE PERIOD OF BEGINNINGS, 1800–1808

Jacob Albright (1759–1808) and the Founding of the Evangelical Association

1. Biographical Sketch of Jacob Albright, 1759–1808.

Jacob Albright was the founder of the Evangelical Association. We shall start our history with a brief sketch of his life.

Jacob Albright was born May 1, 1759, near Pottstown, Pa. His parents were immigrants from the German Palatinate, faithful members of the Evangelical Lutheran Church. So Jacob was early baptized by a Lutheran minister, instructed in catechism, duly confirmed and received as a member of that communion. His education was only that of the common schools. The hard work of the farm gave him good health and a strong body. He was a soldier in the Revolution.

In 1785 Albright married Catharine Cope. In 1790 they moved to their new farm in Lancaster Co. Here Albright farmed, made brick, tile and lime, and gained the name "the honest tiler." By industry and thrift he gradually became prosperous. Albright and his wife were loyal members of the Lutheran church near Ephrata, but they knew only the outer form of Christianity.

In 1790 several of their children died and Albright's sorrow made him an attentive listener to

the earnest evangelical preaching of Anthony Houtz at their funeral. He began to seek a deeper Christian experience and finally was led by his neighbor, Adam Riegel, into a true conversion and happy assurance of salvation. Under the neighborly guidance of Isaac Davis, Albright became interested in a nearby Methodist prayermeeting class. Receiving much spiritual help and liking their discipline and doctrines he soon joined the Methodist Church and became active as an exhorter.

Early in 1796 Albright felt the call to go and preach to his fellow Germans, but he sought to evade and to delay. After much spiritual and physical chastening he decided to go, and in October started out independently to preach to the neglected Germans of Pennsylvania a vital godliness and an evangelical gospel.

From 1796 to 1800 Jacob Albright preached in 22 counties in Pennsylvania besides going into Maryland and Virginia. In private houses, schools, churches, marketplaces, or out in the open fields, wherever he could get a hearing, he proclaimed his message. He endured all kinds of personal hardships and persecution; he was sometimes mobbed; but he counted it all a part of his task in winning souls.

In 1800 Albright organized three prayer classes among his converts. This was the beginning of organization which eventuated as the Evangelical Association.

By November 1803, Albright had formed six prayer classes and had John Walter and Abraham

Liesser as his assistants in the traveling ministry, besides several local preachers. At a general meeting of his followers that month Albright was officially recognized as a "genuine Evangelical preacher," ordained, and given a certificate, signed by the council of fourteen of his preachers and leading lay elders, which read: "We, the undersigned, as Evangelical and Christian friends, declare Jacob Albright to be a genuine Evangelical preacher in every sense of the word and deed, and a member of the universal Christian Church and the communion of saints. To this we testify as brethren and elders of this society. Given in the State of Pennsylvania, on the 5th day of November, 1803."

From this time on, the church grew rapidly. In 1805, George Miller was added to the number of itinerant preachers. In 1807 the first "conference" met, consisting of 5 itinerant and 3 local preachers, and 20 class-leaders and exhorters. It called itself "The Newly-Formed Methodist Conference," adopted "the episcopal form of church government" and elected Albright bishop. The conference asked Albright to compile a discipline. It drew up a regular form of preacher's license. John Dreisbach and Jacob Fry were licensed on probation. The total church membership was 220.

Soon after this Albright's strength began to fail. At Easter time 1808, he held his last "big meeting," stationed the preachers for the last time, then started to return to his home. But death overtook him, still on the way, at the home of George Becker, at Muehlbach, May 18, 1808.

Thus, in his fiftieth year, burned out before his time by the zeal with which he fulfilled his high commission, Jacob Albright ceased from his labors. But those whom he had raised up to a new and higher religious life carried on his well begun work.

As a closing tribute let us quote the words lovingly spoken of him by his co-laborers, Miller and Dreisbach. Miller (A. M. 31-35) says:

> "This godly man had preached the gospel for almost twelve years, and the fruit of his labor was more than three hundred souls converted to God, who, in discipline and order, endeavored to do as God teaches us in his word, to shun all sin and evil, and to edify one another in public exercises and in unity of faith . . . according to the directions which this true teacher had given to his brethren. . . . His public prayers and sermons were powerful, penetrating and convincing . . . not with enticing words of human wisdom, but he spoke as one moved by the Holy Ghost. Love for his fellowmen visibly pervaded him. He prayed for his enemies and persecutors and lost no opportunity to promote their welfare and to lead them into the way of truth. . . . . He always performed his ministerial duties with earnestness and punctuality, with joy and delight. . . . He took the greatest pains to form and to preserve a spiritual bond of union among his converted brethren. He watched with fatherly solicitude over their conduct, in which he himself set them the best of examples,

and his highest effort was to awaken true holiness of heart and to preserve it among them."

Dreisbach (Y. H. I, 94) says:

"Jacob Albright was a man of whom the Evangelical Association has no reason to be ashamed in any respect, and of whom the Divine Master by His Spirit and providence has clearly said 'He is a chosen vessel unto Me.' "

For biographical material concerning Jacob Albright, see: (O. H. 1-43) (Y. H. I index p. 457) (E. A. 1-123 and 513-519) (A. C.) (E. L. 11-17) L. T. A.) (F. E. H. 11) (S. H. 5-25) (E. C. C. 44-56, 79-81, 96-110) and (E. M. Feb. 12, 1868, p. 49).

2. His Personal Religious Experience.

As we inquire into Albright's personal religious experience, we shall note how the Wesleyan doctrine of entire sanctification and Christian perfection naturally became a part of his faith and practice.

The first thirty years of his life Albright was one of that great body of spiritually desolate Pennsylvania Germans which was produced, in the latter part of the 18th Century, by the lack of school and church privileges, scarcity and frequent low moral quality of preachers, the destructive forces of the Revolutionary War followed up by a wave of English deism and French infidelity, combined with the prevalent excessive liquor drinking and all its train of physical, moral and economic evils. The religious state of these people was truly dark and deplorable.

Lutheran and Reformed historians have themselves described the low state of spiritual ideals and

religious living characteristic of those times. Orwig (O. H. 14, 15) and Yeakel (Y. H. I, 24-34) quote the statements of the Lutheran men B. Kurtz and J. G. Schmucker, and the Reformed men J. L. Reber and John W. Nevin, and also the Evangelical Association bishop John Seybert who grew up near Albright's home not far from Manheim, Pa.

But there was a growing light in the spiritual darkness. In 1752 Otterbein started to preach repentance, conversion and true holiness among the Reformed people in Pennsylvania. In 1758, Martin Boehm started it among the Mennonites. In 1766 these two united their efforts with Newcomer and started the work of the United Brethren. These three preachers were in friendly touch with Francis Asbury of the Methodist Episcopal Church. Henry Boehm, son of Martin Boehm, became Asbury's traveling companion for years and superintended the first translation of the M. E. discipline into German in 1808.

In 1790 occurred the epidemic which took away Albright's children and brought him under the preaching of the Reformed minister Anthony Houtz. In 1791 a revival broke out among the Mennonite neighbors of Albright; several were converted and became United Brethren ministers. Riegel and Davis came to the help of Jacob Albright. He was happily converted and soon chose to join the Methodists because he preferred their order and organization to the loose forms of the United Brethren. For fuller accounts of these events see: (L. T. A. 24-7),

(A. C. 19-39), (O. H. 10-16), (Y. H., I, 39-43), (S. H. 7-9), (E. A. 14-9) and (A. M. 6 seq.).

But now let us turn to Albright's personal experience. Let us start with his own account of the peace and joy which followed his long penitential struggle, (A. M. 12 seq.). I translate the original German into English: "I finally succeeded in tearing myself entirely free from the way of the flesh and in looking only for those things that are above. Into the place of all carnality came holy love for God, for his word, and for all true children of God; bit by bit vanished all alarm and anxiety of my heart. My breast breathed comfort and blessed peace in God. He bore witness to my spirit that I had become a child of God. One glad emotion followed the other and such a blessed happiness streamed through my utmost being as no human pen can describe or mortal tongue express, compared with which all fulness of the earthly joys, which I had previously experienced, even the highest degree of them, was only wretchedness and miserable delusion. Now my praying was no longer a mere beseeching; praise and heartfelt thanks, accompanied with tears of rejoicing, were brought as an offering to the Giver of all good.

Now the exercise of good was no longer a burdensome task for me. Sin and all evil I hated from inclination. It was a joy for me to serve God. I felt in a blessed state when I could converse with my God in prayer.

After I had obtained the grace of justification, I soon learned to see that the easiest and safest way

to make progress in the working out of my soul's salvation and to always be ready to fight a good fight, is in association with other devout Christians."

So Albright joined the Methodists. He had to study the English in order to fully understand their exercises and to become acquainted with the articles of their faith and their church discipline, "for which," Albright says, "I had a great liking." Also, "I guided myself strictly according to the instructions of the same and ordered my service of God in accordance with it"

He took to fasting and prayer as helps for overcoming temptations In course of time he was elected exhorter and he and Davis did some local evangelistic preaching. Thus he became impressed with the low state of religious life among the German people, and deeply concerned, longing that they might be saved. Then he began to pray that God would send them true, evangelical, German preachers.

As he continued daily in this intercession, the call of God, to go himself and preach to them, came to him, gradually but ever more clearly. He began to make excuse, pleading that others were better qualified than himself. But always he felt there would be great joy and spiritual rewards for him, if he went; while there would be only spiritual damage and ruin for himself, if he refused to go. There followed a long struggle after which he finally yielded to the divine call and decided to go. Yet he kept putting off the time when he would actually begin.

Then came spiritual uneasiness and severe sickness accompanied with acute physical pain. Prostrated in body and mind he still maintained, by prayer, a certain degree of spiritual life. He came to regard his misery as the chastening hand of God. At last, in physical and spiritual extremity, he sought divine forgiveness and promised, as soon as restored to health, to go and preach the gospel wherever God might send him. Hereupon a great burden rolled from his soul and he began to recover.

When well, he immediately prepared to go. He fasted and prayed to bring his bodily life into subjection to his will and spirit. He diligently studied his bible and came once more to enjoy the good and high things of the Christian life. Or as Albright describes his spiritual state, (A. M. 65 seq.):

> "God so mightily blessed my efforts that my heart was upraised to Him nearly all the time, and I obtained power to keep myself temperate in all things, to love God above all and my fellowmen as myself. . . . In the possession of such grace, equipped with the power of His righteousness and holiness, sealed by His Spirit in love, faith and hope, I set out upon my travels in the year 1796, in the month of October, to obey the call of God."

This experience of Albright's has always been referred to as "Albright's experience of entire sanctification." Certain it is that, in describing it, Albright uses four phrases that ordinarily denote Christian

perfection and entire sanctification, viz. "power to keep myself temperate in all things," "to love God above all and my fellowmen as myself," "equipped with the power of His righteousness and holiness," and "sealed by His Spirit in love, faith and hope." But even if this were not the time when Albright experienced entire sanctification, he did, in his own opinion, sometime attain to that experience and state.

Let us quote here the testimony of Yeakel and Dreisbach as proof of this point, (Y. H. II, 57, 58).

Yeakel says:

> "He sought this state of grace with all his heart, and also realized it in his personal experience. Of the details of his experience of entire sanctification, he left nothing upon record, but that he had a definite experience of this grace he did not conceal; he exhorted his spiritual children, both in private and in public, to seek this great blessing. The unanimous testimony of the fathers and mothers in Israel, who personally knew and heard him, places this beyond doubt."

Dreisbach says:

> "Albright did not merely make a profession, but he lived in the fulness of entire sanctification. He had complete victory over his passions. Everything about him seemed to be under the control of the Spirit, and he lived in perfect love to God and man."

3. His Preaching of the Wesleyan Doctrine of Christian Perfection.

We have just traced Albright's personal religious history to the time when, having made the experience of entire sanctification, he started out to preach. Did he preach this experience or state of grace to others as something for which they also should strive? Let us see.

In addition to the testimony of Yeakel, which we have just cited to this effect, let us quote from the 1806 entries in the diary of George Miller, Albright's co-laborer, (A. M. 104-6):

> "He [Albright] also asked whether I had obtained the grace of perfect holiness. I answered that I could not say so. "Then you cannot teach holiness with power," he replied, and admonished me to seek this grace without delay, otherwise I would not be able to hold out in severe trials and to accept willingly and with thankfulness all adversity and crosses as from the hand of the Lord.
>
> This went deeply to my heart and with tears I besought God for the sanctification of my soul. . . . I longed to be entirely freed from all base desires. I once spent nearly a whole day striving in prayer for it. In this way the Lord brought me always nearer to entire sanctification."

And in another place, (A. M. 118-9) Miller tells of how Albright admonished him to seek holiness as a cure for worry and anxiety in times of trial. Miller recounts how he wept nearly the whole day,

as he and Albright rode along on horseback for thirty miles, and how that evening he struggled, for an hour in prayer, until at last "there was poured out over me a mighty stream of love, so that I could most inwardly love and praise God for all crosses and sufferings; yea, I could love my bitterest enemies and persecutors and thank God that He had disciplined me in so many ways, in order that I might not be damned along with a godless world. . . . From this time on I could speak and preach with much more clearness concerning holiness. But I didn't venture to make a public confession of it until, at several big meetings and at a Conference, I had to make a rehearsal of it, where the Lord powerfully upheld me with his assistance."

Yeakel records (A. C. 110-1) an incident which occurred during the last winter of Albright's life and is no doubt typical of the way in which Albright preached this doctrine of Christian perfection wherever he went.

Albright was in the home of Peter Raidabaugh, a Lutheran deacon. He had gained permission to hold a preaching service. Albright's text was,— 'If we confess our sins, He is faithful and just to forgive us our sins and to cleanse us from all unrighteousness.'

> "His theme was 'salvation from sin,' which in that section was a new, yea, an unknown doctrine. Toward the close of the sermon some of his hearers became restive under the earnest, searching truths, and one arose and said: 'This

is preaching too sharply!' Another, 'Albright do you mean me? You have preached at me!' Albright replied 'Yes, my friend, if it fits you, then I mean you.' Raidabaugh restored order. After the meeting there was a great stir among the people. The majority seemed to think he was too severe.

"After all had departed, a brother of Raidabaugh said to Albright, 'You have preached a strange doctrine, that we can and must be made free from sin—our ministers do not teach us that.' Albright replied 'My dear sir, the word of God must decide these questions. Here is the bible, please read it for yourself; if what I have taught cannot be established by the bible, I will recede.'

"Raidabaugh then read the entire chapter from which the text had been taken and also referred to the [Lutheran] catechism. He was very soon convinced that Albright's teaching was scriptural, but remarked that he could not comprehend the matter. Albright then exhorted them in an affectionate manner and advised them to search the scriptures earnestly to discover the truth."

These testimonies all unite upon the point that Albright taught, privately to his brethren in the ministry, as well as publicly in his sermons, that men should seek for the experience of entire sanctification from all sin and for Christian perfection, a state of perfect love to God and man.

4. His Co-Laborers also Preaching It Before 1809

Since Albright preached the doctrine of entire sanctification and Christian perfection, we are not surprised to find his helpers in the ministry preaching the doctrine, in this early period, previous to 1809.

We have already cited some instances of how George Miller, after experiencing this grace in 1806, preached it more clearly and made personal profession of it. Let us bring another instance from Miller's diary of 1807. (A. M. 123 seq.):

Miller had trouble with a group of people. They would all pray aloud and give vent to pious ejaculations to such an extent that they drowned out his voice and words in praying and even in preaching. Finally, he chose a proper text and preached them a pointed sermon upon their unseemly behaviour. He won a great victory. His comment upon it is: "This congregation became from then on very attentive. And soon thereafter some obtained the complete sanctification of their souls, to be able to make a better resistance against all forms of sin."

Now, concerning John Walter, Albright's earliest co-laborer,—In 1803, we find him preaching an eloquent and powerful sermon, in John Thomas' meadow, to a large gathering of attentive hearers, on the text, 'Who is she that looketh forth as the morning, fair as the moon, clear as the sun, and terrible as an army with banners?' (A. C. 146-7). He allegorized it to refer to the Christian life: "I. 'Morning' presupposes darkness. Sinners are in darkness, or at best, dawn. II. 'Fair as the moon,'

as it only reflects the sun, just so, newly converted souls only partially reflect Christ. III. 'Clear as the sun,' in the enjoyment of entire sanctification; since, by faith, Christ dwells in their hearts, and His light shines forth from their entire being, in holiness and true righteousness. Such are cleansed from all unrighteousness, love God with all their heart and their neighbor as themselves."

This shows that John Walter was from the first a true disciple of Albright.

John Dreisbach, the third co-laborer of Albright was still in his eighteenth year and had been but six months in the ministry when Albright died. Hence we could scarcely expect a record of his preaching upon Christian perfection before 1809; but we do find plenty of records beginning a few years later, that he was of the same opinion as Albright, Walter, and Miller.

We have no record either, concerning the six or eight local preachers licensed by Albright, as to what they preached before 1809; but of some of them we can speak positively in the next period, that, by that time, they were also preaching entire sanctification.

In summarizing this period, we note: that Jacob Albright was converted, joined the Methodist Episcopal Church, accepted their discipline, articles of faith and doctrine,—that, being of deeply religious nature, he strove for and finally realized Christian perfection in his own experience,—that he taught

his co-laborers privately and his followers publicly the desirability and the practical necessity of attaining to Christian perfection,—and lastly, that Albright's co-laborers were convinced of the truth of this doctrine and were preaching it earnestly before the year 1809.

Let us remember, too, that Albright's followers were as fully aware of the Methodist form of their church organization as they were of the Wesleyan cast of their doctrines. This will help to connect this period with the one that follows and will help to explain why "the Albright people" then turned to the Methodists for a discipline and articles of faith and doctrine.

CHAPTER II

THE PERIOD OF UNITY, 1809–1856

Official Adoption and Early History of the Doctrine of Christian Perfection in the Evangelical Association

1. Official Adoption by Albright's Followers in 1809

The doctrine of Christian perfection was adopted as an integral part of the first discipline of Albright's followers in 1809. The conference of 1807 had asked Albright to compile a discipline but this was prevented by Albright's death in 1808.

George Miller who succeeded to the leadership wrote (A. M. 129 seq.):

> "Upon the advice of my brethren, I undertook this important work. In the year 1808, in December, I started the composition of it."

Under the double strain of preaching and worry over the writing of the discipline, Miller's health broke and he went home to recuperate. This gave him time for the work and he says (A. M. 136 seq.):

> "In my weakness, I kept at this work and, out of God's word and partly according to the episcopal form, I compiled articles of faith and an order of organization and church discipline."

In April 1809, the conference met in Miller's home, with him as chairman and Dreisbach secretary. The others present were,—John Walter, Henry Niebel, John Erb, and Matthew Betz.

Miller records: "I laid this compilation before the conference for examination. It was adopted and given over to me to be printed."

Stapleton (L. T. A. 94-9) gives a photograph and description of this original discipline, a copy of which is with the Historical Society of the United Evangelical Church, Harrisburg, Pa. When compared with a copy of Henry Boehm's 1808 German translation of the Methodist Episcopal English discipline of 1804, to be found at Garrett Biblical Institute, Evanston, Ill., the two books are found so similar in wording and arrangement that one is convinced that Miller took much of Boehm verbatim and that Miller's printer patterned after Boehm's. For further proof of this point see (Y. H. I, 101) (Y. C. D. 65) (V. H. 19) and Boehm's "Reminiscences" pp. 173-9.

To sketch an historical sequence of disciplines: (1) There was the M. E. discipline of 1804 in English; (2) Boehm put it into German in 1808; and (3) Miller patterned after Boehm very closely for his discipline in 1809.

As a part of this discipline came the article on Christian perfection. In Appendices I, II, and III, the varied forms of this article, in these three disciplines, can be seen and compared. Boehm's form is a selective combination of a lengthy tract and the short article found in the 1804 discipline. Miller's is practically a copy of Boehm's. There is no difference in the doctrinal content of these articles.

This article on entire sanctification and Christian perfection, adopted in the discipline of 1809, has remained the official statement of the Evangelical Association upon this doctrine—is still such in 1920. The general conferences of 1816 and 1830 improved the wording of the original article, but only to make clearer its meaning. The first English discipline of 1832 is only a careful translation of the German of 1831. For the article in its 1832 English form see Appendix IV. The article, as official for 1920, will be found almost identical. This English form would be used in case of a doctrinal dispute or trial today.

Several other parts of the 1809 discipline imply and set forth the Wesleyan view of Christian perfection: (1) the introduction, pp. 5-6; (2) condition of membership, p. 19; (3) 10th general rule for members, p. 29; (4) 10th general direction for preachers, pp. 67-8; (5) 4th direction on preaching, p. 72.

The discipline of 1817 adds several more: (1) 3rd question for candidates for ministry, p. 38; (2) Sec. III, general rule 1, p. 18; (3) ritual for ordination, p. 79; (4) baptismal rituals, pp. 94-102; (5) for communicants, pp. 103-4.

The importance of these many references to Christian perfection and entire sanctification in the discipline will be apparent when we know that before 1836 the church had no papers and but few books. Thus the people were indoctrinated by the regular hearing of the discipline upon all churchly occasions. It was the standard of all biblical inter-

pretation and preaching. The discipline of 1817, p. 37, made it a duty for even the exhorters "to read to the prayermeeting class from the Holy Scriptures or our church discipline," as a basis for their exhortations.

To sum up: The Albrights in 1809 drew almost entirely upon Methodist sources for their first book of faith and discipline. An integral part of the faith which they accepted and officially adopted was the Wesleyan doctrine of entire sanctification and Christian perfection. That they sincerely advocated and maintained this doctrine we shall see by what follows.

2. Early History, 1809–1856

We now attempt a chronological account of the early history of the doctrine of Christian perfection in the Evangelical Association. Brief biographical sketches, of the leaders of the church, will be inserted, with references to additional records of their lives.

We divide the history of this period into four sections:

A. Earliest Years of Unity, 1809–31.

From 1809–1831 there was unity in all the public expression and teaching of the preachers of the Evangelical Association concerning Christian perfection.

The conference of 1809 asked Miller 'to write something for the edification of the church.' This he proceeded to do, and by the session in 1810 had written a 'Life of Jacob Albright.' This was published in 1834, together with Miller's autobiography

written in 1815, under the title "Albrecht und Miller," which is the source for much of the history of these early years.

In this book (A. M. 138-40) Miller tells about this conference of 1810: "I had to give testimony concerning the entire sanctification which I believed I had experienced, and concerning our church discipline which I professed to live out. It proved to the comfort and bettering of my soul and to the great satisfaction of the brethren," etc.

In the summer of 1810 campmeetings were held for the first time by the Albrights. Of these Orwig (O. H. 56-7) writes: "It was especially the doctrine of purity of heart and life, as preached by our ministers, that the pastors of the old German churches hated." etc.

In 1811 Miller wrote his "Practical Christianity." It was published in 1814. This was the most popular and influential doctrinal work produced in the church up to 1869. Chapter IV, "Growth in Grace and Perseverance in the Divine Life," is a worthy and classic statement of Christian perfection as viewed by Miller and advocated in the church during this period.

Miller presided at the conference sessions until 1814, when on account of failing strength he gave way to Dreisbach. Miller still wrote and preached as he was able. At the time of his death, April 5, 1816, he was revising the discipline.

A fine summary of Miller's life and place in the church was early appended to his autobiography, from which I quote (A. M. 161) or (A. C. 272-5):

"He was especially diligent to elucidate to believers, and to inculcate, growth in grace and—likewise to encourage them to follow after entire sanctification.—But his chief aim was properly to instruct his ministerial brethren, since he well knew that the building up of the church was dependent upon wholesome and pure doctrines. In this matter he was profoundly experienced and possessed a special gift to speak and preach about it."

References on George Miller: (A. C. 173-283) (Y. H. I index p. 464) (E. A. 522-5) (E. C. C. 44-110) (F. E. H. 3-127) (L. T. A. 125-7).

John Walter, Albright's earliest co-laborer, outlived Miller a couple of years, until Dec. 3, 1818. He was a student of the scriptures, a poet, and the most eloquent of the Albright preachers of his time. He never became the official leader of the church, but he was as devoted in his ministry, 1802–1818, as any. After 1813 he was able to preach only occasionally.

John Breidenstein, a co-worker, says of Walter (A. C. 156): "He insisted that believers should follow after holiness.—In his opinion, holiness consisted in being delivered from all evil affections and desires, and in being conformed to the will of God."

References on John Walter: (A C. 131-71) (Y. H. I index p. 468) (E. A. 519-22) (E. C. C. 44-110) (F. E. H. 130-4) (L. T. A. 123-5).

By 1814, thirteen ministers were active in the work, in spite of the losses of the year 1813, viz. the

location of Miller, Walter, and Erb because of poor health, and the death of Matthew Betz, concerning whom see: (Y. H. I index p. 457) (E. A. 537) (L. T. A. 132-3).

The conference of 1814 elected John Dreisbach presiding elder, to spend all his time in superintending the work of the church.

Yeakel (Y. H. I 123-5) quotes the diary of Dreisbach concerning the campmeetings of the summer of 1814. Of one closing June 6: "Those converted numbered 14. I believe some of the friends received sanctification." Of August 31: "I had great grace to preach.—It had a powerful effect unto the sanctification of many.—I have never heard more sound testimonies of sanctification than at this meeting." Of another: "While preaching regeneration and sanctification through faith, converting and sanctifying power came upon us.—The results were 14 converted and 28 professed sanctification," etc.

These continued references to sanctification are only typical of the way Dreisbach writes in four of his diaries:

1. Apr. 28—July 7, 1813,—now in Evangelical Theological Seminary, Naperville, Ill. See pp. 7-9, 11-13, 17-21, 23, 24.

2. Sept. 20, 1813—Apr. 15, 1814,—pp. 17, 19, 37, 41, 51, 75, 81.

3. May 31, 1815—Feb. 22, 1816,—pp. 1, 2, 6, 12, 24, 48, 52, 68, 69, 73.

4. Mar. 1, 1816—June 16, 1817,—pp. 5, 6, 20, 21, 37, 49, 50, 71, 92, 97-98, 173. These

last three diaries are in the keeping of Orrin Dreisbach, Circleville, O., a great-grandson of Rev. John Dreisbach.

In 1815 Henry Niebel, brother-in-law and life-long friend of John Dreisbach, was elected as a second presiding elder. These two were the leaders of the church until 1821. Niebel locating in 1819, Dreisbach in 1821. They organized the publishing interests of the church in 1816. In October 1816, they conducted the first general conference, which adopted "The Evangelical Association of North America" as the official name of the church. This conference adopted the revised and enlarged discipline that Miller had started, but Dreisbach and Niebel had completed, also the new hymn-book, "Das Geistliche Saitenspiel," that they had compiled.

A copy of this hymnal, originally given by John Dreisbach to his wife, is now the property of Mrs. Amelia C. Dreisbach, Circleville, O., widow of Reuben Dreisbach, son of Isaac, son of Rev. John Dreisbach. The hymnal contained 487 hymns, 15 of which were under the group titles, "Of Sanctification" and "Of Support in the State of Grace and Christian Perfection."

In 1820 John Erb was elected presiding elder, succeeding Niebel. Dreisbach, Niebel, and Stambach were elected to examine all manuscripts that might come up for publication.

In 1821 Dreisbach and Niebel retired from the active leadership of the church. They attended all the conference sessions however and nothing was

done without their approval, especially in regard to doctrinal matters, e.g. in the revision and editing of the discipline 1830–32. (E. L. 65). Both lived until the 1870's, the esteemed patriarchs of the church, uniting it with the days of Albright, Miller and Walter. To the end of their long and influential lives, they held to their original views on entire sanctification and Christian perfection.

References on Dreisbach: (Y. H. I index p. 460) (Y. H. II index p. 338) (A. C. 285-328) (L. T. A. 127-30) (E. A. 525-8) (S. H. 61-2) (V. H. 63-6) (E. C. C. 44-110) (F. E. H. 4, 143) (Diaries of Dreisbach) (C. B. Feb. 15, 1843, and Sept. 29, 1865) (E. M. Feb. 22 and Mar. 8, 1848; Feb. 8, 1851, a hymn; Oct. 1854 to Mar. 1857, especially 1855, June 13 and pp. 114, 137; 1856 pp. 12, 28, 92, 140, 148; Feb. 12, 1868 p. 49 and Aug. 31, 1871) (Appendix VI).

References on Niebel: (Y. H. I index p. 464) (Y. H. II 152) (L. T. A. 133-5) (E. A. 549) (E. C. C. 44-110) (F. E. H. 12) (E. M. June 7, 1877) (Appendix VI).

From 1820-3 John Erb was a leader of the church. Later he preached in the Ohio Conference, 1851-7. In 1858 he passed away. To the very last he insisted strongly upon entire sanctification.

References: (Y. H. I index p. 461) (Y. H. II 71-3) (L. T. A. 133) (E. A. 539-40) (V. H. 64).

During 1821-5 the leaders were John, Jacob, and Adam Kleinfelter and James Barber. For materials on their lives and work see the indices of Yeakel's and Stapleton's histories.

In 1822 John Breidenstein started the historic revival at Orwigsburg, Pa. He preached the doctrine of a life saved from all sin and disputed with the German pastors on the subject. (Y. H. I 164–9).

In 1823-4 John Seybert carried on this revival with unusual success. Under his successors the work continued in power till 1826. Out of this revival came 9 preachers for the church,—Chas. Hammer, John P. Leib, Chas. Hesser, Jos. M. Saylor, John Hammer, and Samuel Rickert, several of whom became champions of the doctrine of sanctification.

In the years 1825-30 came forth successively John Seybert, J. C. Reisner, Joseph Long, Philip Wagner, and T. Buck as leading men in the church.

During these 22 years preceding 1831, we have found nothing but complete unity manifested by the ministers and people of the Evangelical Association in regard to the doctrine of Christian perfection.

B. The Hamilton Episode, 1831–33.

In the record of the eastern conference of 1831, (E. L. 66) (Y. H. I 202), appears this unexpected minute: "John Hamilton was deposed from the ministry because he promulgated anti-scriptural doctrines." This is the first such case on record. Was Hamilton the first member of the Association who failed to agree with the established doctrines? Or was he simply the first to come out publicly in opposition?

Upon this point, and frequently hereafter, the personal testimony of "Father" William Yost, of

Cleveland, O., will be of value. Yost was born in 1830, entered the ministry in 1853, and died May 25, 1920. (E. M. June 2, 1920.) Since 1864 he was continuously resident in Cleveland, with offices in the church headquarters. During all these years, he was the efficient incumbent of one or more of the general church offices. He traveled often and was well acquainted in all parts of the church. His autobiography, "Reminiscences," published in 1911, tells of his early acquaintance with Niebel, Seybert, Schnerr, Zinser, Orwig, Hammer, T. Buck, Fisher, and other leaders of the church. Pages 21-2 and 212 recount his own conversion and entire sanctification experiences. Father Yost was, (May, 1920), in his 90th year, the oldest preacher in the church, universally known and loved. He was affectionately called "the immortal Yost."

Verbatim written records (carefully checked over with him) of the results of a 3-hour talk with him, in his office, on Sept. 17, 1919, when he was still active of body, alert of mind, and quick and accurate in memory, will be used here as his personal testimony.

When asked whether there had always been unity in the church concerning the doctrine of entire sanctification, he replied: "There always were some in the church, and in the ministry, ever since the early days, who held to other views of entire sanctification than the one set forth in the discipline, but they ordinarily did not seek to propagate their views publicly."

There are many things which would make this statement easily acceptable as true: Albright and his followers for several decades preached to people who had been catechized and reared in the German churches which have always held a view of Christian perfection quite different from Wesley's. Many of these in joining the Evangelical Association would still carry over a large part of their doctrinal heritage. The members of the Association would grade all the way between the extremes of pure Lutheran and pure Wesleyan views. The disputes between the preachers of these denominations would tend to leave the doctrine a more or less unsettled point of faith. (Y. H. I 107-8, 164, 205-7.) There were those who accepted the doctrine in theory but made no effort to prove it in experience, also those who professed experience even, but did not live up to it, and so raised doubts and reservations in the minds of the more conservative and practical.

Thus the orthodox ministerial followers of Albright always had plenty of church members, and probably some ministers at times, to admonish upon the subject of Christian perfection. Polemic, apology, and hints at ecclesiastical authority and discipline had apparently won the day without public exception, in the cases of ministers at least, until Hamilton stoutly advocated other than the accepted views in 1831.

Hamilton entered the ministry in 1825. He was the first exclusively English preacher. He soon became influential and many hoped he would win the

church to do a growing English work. But his policy was defeated in the conference of 1830. (E. A. 241) (E. L. 65). Hamilton thereupon located "because of bodily infirmities," but composed and published a pamphlet setting forth his views on policy, polity, and doctrine. The majority of the brethren of the eastern conference of 1831 disapproved of Hamilton's views so they deposed him for promulgating "anti-scriptural doctrines." (E L. 66) (O. H. 154). Stapleton says (E. A. 175-9): "Hamilton was expelled from the society—but had the sympathy of most of the younger and progressive portion of the ministry."

This same conference passed a resolution "that no preacher of the communion shall publish any book or pamphlet which has not been examined and approved by his conference." (E. L. 66).

The disasters that came to the church as a result of this anti-English policy inaugurated in 1830, brought the leaders to reverse it in 1843. (E. A. 241-2) (Y. H. I 202, 355-6).

Hamilton, when expelled rallied his friends, about him to re-establish the 'old foundation of Mr. Albright' and to found a 'scriptural association.' Hamilton had reference to the Albright council of 1803 which declared "the Holy Scriptures to be the rule of faith and practice," also to the fact that so long as Albright lived there had been no discipline to interpret the scriptures. He called the Evangelical Association a 'sect' because it based its doctrines on the discipline instead of the scriptures directly.

Hamilton claimed to get his views from the scriptures. (O. H. 155-7) (Y. H. I 56, 208-10).

When asked over what particular doctrine Hamilton had differed, Father Yost replied: "It was the doctrine of Christian perfection as expounded in that chapter in the discipline." This answer alone would go far in making the Hamilton episode a real part of this history; but when joined with the following records by the historians it becomes conclusive.

Combining (O. H. 158) (Y. H. I 208-10) and (E. A. 175-9) we get this account: James Brewer favored Hamilton, yet did not go with him; but afterwards he fell into erroneous opinions himself, withdrew from the Association, and joined with Hamilton.—His chief error was that a perfectly sanctified person had nothing more to do in this world, and consequently, the moment he obtained perfect sanctification, would be called from time to eternity. Brewer preached this doctrine at a summer campmeeting in 1833 under the supervision of Orwig, who spoke to him about it and lodged complaint against him. Brewer withdrew from the Association, during that meeting, and joined forces with Hamilton.—That fall Brewer died. It was a death blow to Hamilton's cause. Hamilton finally joined the Lutheran church. Why? Doubtless because in doctrine and polity he felt most at home there.

So far as is recorded, Hamilton, Brewer, and Hunter were the only itinerant ministers of the Association to withdraw during this trouble. Just how many of the preachers and people who stayed

were inclined toward variant views it is impossible to tell, but they constituted a group from which later on arose others who publicly expressed unfavored opinions upon the subject of Christian perfection.

C. Unity Restored, 1834–48.

The fifteen years following the Hamilton episode were marked by renewed unity on the doctrine of Christian perfection.

The new leaders for 1833 were W. W. Orwig, J. M. Saylor, Philip Wagner and Niebel, active again. 1834 brought J. G. Zinser and Chas. Hammer. In 1834, 12 out of the 45 preachers were expelled or deposed. (E. L. 71-82). One wonders whether this drastic weeding out was not aimed at securing doctrinal unity as well as moral reliability.

In 1835 Orwig published a sermon, in pamphlet form, in German, on "The Doctrine of Complete Deliverance from Sin in This Life." It would seem primarily intended for the correct indoctrination of the ministers. A copy is now in the seminary at Naperville, Ill.

In 1836 appeared the first church paper "Der Christliche Botschafter." It was a monthly until 1840, a bi-weekly until 1861, since then a weekly. Its English companion, "The Evangelical Messenger," appeared in 1848. These papers became the chief medium for the exchange of church news, for doctrinal education and discussion. In 1836 appeared also the theological work by Rev. Samuel Miller "Kernwesen von der Erloesung."

During 1836-9, Samuel Baumgardner, Francis Hoffman, George Brickley, H. Bucks, J. P. Leib, and J. M. Sindlinger, became leaders.

The general conference of 1839 felt the need for a bishop to supervise the fast growing church, and elected John Seybert to this office, vacant since the death of Albright. In 1807 there had been 5 active preachers, 220 members, on 2 circuits in a few counties in Central Pennsylvania. By 1839 there were 85 active preachers, 7,859 members, on 42 circuits in 7 states,—Pa., Md., Va., N. Y., O., Ind., and Ill. There were now 3 conferences,— E. Pa., W. Pa., and Ohio.

This general conference prohibited henceforth any change in the articles of faith; which ruling applied practically, though not technically, to the chapter on entire sanctification and Christian perfection.

Here we may give a biographical sketch of John Seybert: John Seybert was born July 7, 1791, near Manheim, Pa. Convicted under the earnest preaching of Matthew Betz, he struggled on until June 21, 1810 when he was "converted deep into eternal life."

He became a preacher in 1821. In 1823-4 he led the revival at Orwigsburg. In 1825 he was elected presiding elder, which office he held, except one year at his own request, until he was elected bishop. He frequently was the secretary or chairman of the annual and general conferences. As bishop he presided at all three annual conferences.

There never was a more modest, consecrated, restlessly active winner of souls than John Seybert. He served the church for more than twenty consecutive years as an itinerant bishop. Records compiled from his diary show that Seybert traveled 175,000 miles, mostly on horseback, or in his later years by wagon. He made 46,000 pastoral calls, visited 10,000 sick, attended 8,000 prayer and class meetings, preached 10,000 sermons. This is a work surpassing even that of the illustrious Methodist bishop, Francis Asbury. Seybert served with truly apostolic zeal and success until Jan. 4, 1860, near Flat Rock, O., where his life came to a peaceful end.

Seybert was thoroughly Wesleyan in his views and loyal to the discipline on entire sanctification and Christian perfection.

References: (S. L. S.) (Neitz's 'Life of Seybert') (Y. H. I index p. 467) (Y. H. II index p. 340) (E. A. 529-32) (F. E. H. 55-66) (V. H. 78-86) (Seybert's diaries, now with the rest of his library, at North-Western College, Naperville, Ill.). Seybert read many authors, but there is one little book, entitled "The Christian Manual, a Treatise on Christian Perfection," compiled from writings of Fletcher and Wesley, published in 1826, which shows much usage. One can imagine John Seybert reading it again and again, as he traveled, like a second veritable John Wesley, building up a church and edifying it with sermons on Christian perfection.

From 1839-43 Seybert was the only bishop, then Joseph Long was elected to labor with him.

Joseph Long was born Oct. 21, 1800, in Dauphin Co., Pa. In 1817 his folks moved to Columbiana Co., O. In 1818 the family were all converted under the preaching of Evangelical ministers. Joseph became an active church member and in 1822 entered the ministry. In 1826 he married Catharine Hoy.

In 1828 Long was elected chairman of the western conference and presiding elder. He held that office until 1833 when he located for 8 years. In 1841 he became active again, a more powerful preacher than ever. The church acted wisely in electing him bishop in 1843. He and Seybert were of vastly different temperaments but they always worked together in great harmony.

W. W. Orwig became bishop in 1859; Seybert died in 1860; J. J. Esher succeeded Orwig in 1863; but Long served continuously until he passed away at Forreston, Ill., June 23, 1869.

Long was always a champion of the established doctrine of the church on Christian perfection, especially in the last twelve years of his life, 1857-69, during the controversy with Neitz, etc.

References: (Y. L. L.) (Y. H. I index p. 463) (Y. H. II index p. 339) (E. A. 533-5) (F. E. H. 67-73) (V. H. 86-93).

In 1844 Seybert, Long, Ettinger, Orwig, and Reisner outlined a course of study for junior preachers that included works by Wesley, Fletcher, and Watson, to give a good foundation in doctrine.

In 1846 came Orwig's catechism, which ranked next to the discipline as the official statement of the church's doctrinal views. In the English edition, pp. 53, 62-7, Orwig treats upon "sanctification," in part:

"Question 141. What is meant by holiness or sanctification?

Answer. By sanctification is meant the entire purification from all sin, unreserved dedication to God, loving Him with all our heart, soul, mind, and strength, and our neighbor as ourselves.

Question 142. When does sanctification commence?

Answer. Sanctification commences in regeneration and must be continued to perfection."

From all that this catechism says, one would think that gradual sanctification to perfection was all that the church taught.

There are no items of note for us until the latter part of 1848 and 1849, when we take up the interesting case of Nicholas Gehr, editor of the church papers.

D. The Gehr Episode, 1848-9.

In the Evangelical Messenger of Sept. 22, 1848 Gehr reprinted an article, "Christian Holiness—Christian Perfection," from the "Christian Visitor." In an editorial Gehr heartily indorsed the article. I quote a few chief points of the article:

"All the primary elements of holiness, sanctification, or Christian perfection are always implanted in the soul at regeneration.—The young convert should be informed that, if he went right forward in the way of holiness, sanctification, or consecration to God, and if he felt that he loved God with all his heart, that was all the Christian perfection that could be required of him at that moment.—In the gospel a sincere intention to do right is the test of obedience. All legal failures after this are mercifully pardoned, and the holiest persons have these legal failures to be pardoned daily.—Christian perfection implies an innocent condition of the soul. He who professes to be sinlessly perfect is not far from fanaticism." etc.

No criticisms nor questionings of Gehr's orthodoxy appear in the papers, he being editor; but these sprang up and increased until on March 14, 1849, the W. Pa. Conf., of which Orwig was secretary, requested Bishop Long to admonish Gehr in a friendly way. Long and Gehr reached no satisfactory conclusion, so, formal charges being imminent, on April 7, Gehr presented his resignation. It was accepted and printed in the Botschafter, March 1, 1849. In English it would read in part as follows:

> "I am charged with deviating principles, especially on sanctification.—Since I am still unconvinced of any errors, I cannot resolve upon a change of my convictions.—After mature consideration, I freely resign my office—with the most innocent feelings and the deepest pain. Respectfully and in love, N. Gehr."

Gehr afterwards became a minister and editor for the German Reformed Church, and seemed at home in that communion.

Gehr came to grief innocently enough. He thought he was setting forth the doctrine of the church, but he found that the leaders of the church disagreed with him. His was a first sincere attempt on the part of the editors to clear up and emphasize those doctrines which would have helped to remedy an unhappy state of the clergy and the church which began to be manifest about 1845. With this situation and the further measures taken to remedy it we deal in the following section.

E. Renewed Emphasis upon Entire Sanctification: An Effort to Better the Condition of the Church, 1849-56.

The church historians agree, and the church papers will show, that 1845-56 there was a decided lowering in the spiritual tone of the living and preaching of the clergy of the Association. Yeakel (Y. H. II 51, 59-60, 231 seq.) describes the condition but gives no fundamental causes for it.

The editors who succeeded Gehr up until 1857,—Orwig, 1849-53; Koch, 1853-63; Fisher, 1849-54; J. L. W. Seybert, 1854; Dreisbach 1854-7,—along with C. Hammer, the publisher, 1854-67, and the other orthodox leaders of the church, sought to better this condition, the same way that Gehr had tried, by a renewed and continued emphasis upon holy living and the experience of entire sanctification.

For example:

(1) Orwig's editorial, (C. B. Dec. 2, 1850) "The Most Useful Preachers"; his article, (Jan. 12, 1853) "Enlargement of the Borders." For other references see Appendix VI for Orwig, Koch, Fisher, J. L. W. Seybert, and Dreisbach.

(2) The German hymnal of 1850, revised by Long, Dreisbach, and Orwig, contained a large number of hymns on "Christian perfection." 5 of Dreisbach's 35 hymns in this book were on that subject.

(3) Yeakel preserves (Y. H. II 26) a resolution by the Ohio conference of 1851: "Resolved that during this session sermons shall be delivered on justification, sanctification,"—etc.

(4) Henry Fisher, publisher and editor, died in 1854. He was a strong champion of this doctrine. (Y. H. II 39.)

(5) 1856-7, R. Yeakel published, in the Botschafter, a series of articles on "Sanctification."

By 1856 these writers were no longer so measured in their statements as formerly. One of these, "An Old Evangelical," published an article, in the Botschafter, Jan. 16, 1856, "The View of the Evangelical Association on Sanctification," which "gave offense in many directions." (Y. H. II 60.)

Father Yost said this writer was W. W. Orwig. Yeakel confirms this identification (Y. H. II 61). The contents of the article fit Orwig exactly in style and dates,—e.g. "30 years ago, I first became acquainted with the Evangelical Association and

soon thereafter attached myself to it"—etc. The article was dated "December, 1855." Orwig first came into touch with the church at the revival in Orwigsburg in May 1825. He was converted near New Berlin, Pa., in 1826, joining the church soon thereafter. (E. A. 82, 535) (Y. H. I 167).

This article by Orwig decidedly overstated the teaching of the church as to the necessity of entire sanctification for salvation: (C. B. Jan. 16, 1856) "Those who professed religion were summoned to seek sanctification—and were assured that, if they did not obtain sanctification, then they would not be able to see the Lord.—Someone may wonder what my opinion may be concerning the fate of those who die without entire sanctification. That is clear: they will inevitably be lost.—A partially sanctified person will as little come to heaven as one who is altogether impure.—Then will all the justified, who have not obtained entire sanctification, be lost? Undoubtedly!" etc.

Yeakel (Y. H. II 60-1) tells of the result of this article in the church:

> "Already, before this article appeared there were indications of a tendency for some preachers to favor the doctrine that man is entirely sanctified in conversion, and then need only grow in grace. This view received quite an impetus by way of antagonism to the extreme statements by "An Old Evangelical." A faction developed in the ministry opposed to the article on sanctification in the discipline, and endeavored to

introduce a foreign conception of the doctrine. This produced unrest and friction, in the Association, which led to some serious transactions as we shall see."

To summarize the period 1809–1856: In the main this was a period of unity in regard to the doctrine of Christian perfection. The clashes with Hamilton and Gehr were short, resulting in their elimination from the church. The Wesleyan articles of faith and discipline, adopted and maintained by the sincere ministerial followers of Jacob Albright so far triumphed over the old German doctrinal heritages that it was not until 1855–6, when the real position of the church was overstated, that a group of ministers and members of the church, by the natural law of reaction, began to understate the real position of the church. It was not until Feb. 9, 1857 however, when Neitz published a pamphlet setting forth these latter views, that open controversy broke out. With that begins the story of the next period.

Appendix VI lists those, active before 1857, found to accord with the official view of the Evangelical Association on Christian perfection, and cites the literary evidence for each.

CHAPTER III

THE PERIOD OF CONTROVERSY, 1857–1875

Leaders and History of the Chief Controversy, in the Evangelical Association, over the Doctrine of Christian Perfection

William W. Orwig published, Jan. 16, 1856, the article, "The View of the Evangelical Association on Sanctification," which was the provoking cause for the reply, by Solomon Neitz, Feb. 9, 1857, in a pamphlet on "Christian Sanctification according to Apostolic Teaching," which formally opened the public controversy, of this period, over Christian perfection.

Orwig and Neitz were the leaders and spokesmen, for the two parties in the Evangelical Association, that disputed over Christian perfection from 1857–75. We shall first sketch the stories of their lives then proceed to the history which they helped to make.

1. Biographical Sketch of William W. Orwig, 1810–1889

William W. Orwig was born near Orwigsburg, Pa., Sept. 25, 1810. In 1815 the family moved to Union Co., where the boy grew up with but little schooling. Yet he read much and learned to use both German and English freely. In May 1825, with his mother, he attended the great revival near Orwigsburg. (O. H. 121-2.)

In 1826 Orwig was converted and, in June 1828, entered the active ministry. In 1833 he was elected a presiding elder in the E. Pa. Conference. During that summer he checked up Brewer on Christian perfection, and became known as a champion of the church's views on this doctrine. In 1835 appeared his printed sermon on "Full Deliverance from Sin."

Orwig was the prime mover in the creation of the publishing interests of the church in the early 30's. He was publisher 1836-9, 51-4, 67-9, and editor of the Botschafter 1837-43, 50-4, 63-7.

While in the regular ministry 1843-50, he zealously worked for the establishment of church schools for higher education. In 1846 he compiled the catechism for the Association. In 1849 he was secretary of the W. Pa. Conference that asked Bishop Long to correct editor Gehr. Recalled to the editorship after the resignation of Gehr, Orwig was chiefly responsible for the wise transfer of the publishing interests from New Berlin, Pa. to Cleveland, O. in 1851. He resigned his editorship in 1853 and started the first seminary of the church in New Berlin, Pa.

In 1854-6 he wrote the first regular history of the Evangelical Association. From 1856-9 he served as principal of the seminary and carried on the controversy with Neitz. In 1859 he was elected bishop with Seybert and Long.

He served faithfully as bishop for four years, 1859-63, but failed of re-election, John Jacob Esher of the Illinois Conference succeeding him in the episcopal office. Orwig was returned as editor, then

as publisher until 1869, when his impaired health made a change advisable.

Orwig then busied himself in writing. In 1872 appeared his "Heilsfuelle"; in 1876, his "Pastoral Theology"; and in 1882 his volume of "Sermons."

From 1876 Orwig was active as presiding elder, then as pastor. He passed away in great peace, May 29, 1889, at Cleveland, O. In his active ministry of 61 years he advocated and organized more important, forward-looking movements and institutions for the church than any other one man. Some historian should honor him and benefit the Evangelical Association by writing a full story of his life. This would be made comparatively easy because Orwig left more in writing than any other minister of the Evangelical Association in his time.

References on the life, work, and views of William W. Orwig: (Y. H. I index p. 465) (Y. H. II index p. 340) (V. H. 100-7) (E. A. 535-6) (S. H. 67-9) (H. R. 3-7) (F. E. H. 37-143) (Ep. Feb. 1886) (Gen. Conf. Journals 1859-91) (E. M. Dec. 8, 1859; June 1889) (C. B. June 1889 and whenever Orwig was editor) (Appendix VII) (Any of Orwig's published works).

2. Biographical Sketch of Solomon Neitz, 1821–1885

Solomon Neitz was born in Lehigh Co., Pa., April 2, 1821. Converted at fourteen, he entered the ministry, at nineteen years of age, in 1840, without much schooling. He was a lifelong reader and student. Natural ability and practice soon dis-

tinguished him as a pulpit orator of unusual power.

In 1855 Neitz was elected secretary of the E. Pa. Conference. He was elected presiding elder soon after Orwig's radical article appeared in 1856. On Neitz's district were, T. G. Clewell, who succeeded Dreisbach, as editor of the Messenger in 1857, and always favored Neitz, and Wm. Yost, who did not follow Neitz in doctrine. Yost when asked whether, at that time, he heard Neitz preach or talk upon the doctrine of Christian perfection, replied: "Yes, many times! We talked it over quite often. Neitz would say of the article in the discipline, 'Der Artikel muss heraus!,' (That article must come out!). And of the text, 'God sanctify you wholly,' Neitz would say 'Paul used it only as a 'Segenswunsch' (wish of blessing) and not as a 'Lehrpunkt' (point of doctrine).—He often preached on the doctrine when I was present. He would refer to Orwig and others who attacked his views as 'Der Billy Orwig—es sind die heilige Maenner' (that Billy Orwig—they are the holy men).—Neitz was not a clear theologian. He read German theologians but never could or would explain a doctrine clearly. He said, too, 'The Evangelical Association must come back to the old Reformed Church view on sanctification and give up its Wesleyan fanaticism. My view is not Wesleyan, but it is biblical.' " See also Yost's (Rem. 182-3).

Small wonder then that Orwig's super-Wesleyan article, followed by young Reuben Yeakel's series of articles, Aug. 13, 1856 to Jan. 14, 1857, based explicitly upon the discipline, appearing in the

Botschafter throughout 1856, should provoke Neitz to state his own views in a pamphlet in February 1857.

This brought Neitz into public controversy with Orwig for more than ten years. But, in spite of or, more probably, because of this, Neitz remained popular and influential throughout the church. He was continued in office as a presiding elder until 1878, when his age made that work too strenuous.

In 1861 he wrote a German "Life and Work of Bishop Seybert." In 1863 he was sent in Orwig's place to inspect and better establish the work in Germany. Lehr (G. C. G. 39) says: "Dr. Philip Schaff heard Neitz preach and declared, 'there are only two such German orators in the world, Krummacher in Germany and Neitz in America."

Neitz was a delegate to every general conference of the Evangelical Association from 1859 till the time of his death. He was several times nearly elected bishop, but his dubious doctrinal views de feated him. He served on many general church boards.

From 1878–83 Neitz served in the pastorate, until failing strength made him locate. Rev. G. C. Knobel, son-in-law of Bishop J. J. Esher, said recently that H. A. Neitz, son of S. Neitz, told him that during the last year of his life his father (Neitz) made a bonfire of his pamphlets, doctrinal papers, etc. with the remark, 'Now we will see if they stand it to be tried by fire.' Neitz passed peacefully away, May 11, 1885, at Reading, Pa.

Two statements, from personal correspondence with Miss Carrie V. Neitz, his daughter, in Reading, Pa., follow:

(1) Dated Aug. 30, 1919:

"Father was so sound in his opinions on doctrines taught by the scriptures that only bitter enemies would ever attack him in envy of his great popularity."

(2) Dated Sept. 25, 1919:

"The conduct of those people who attacked him always seemed un-Christian to my parents. Instead of injuring, it seemed to increase father's influence, for crowds always greeted him to hear the truth. It seemed impossible to listen to the Gospel as he presented it, and not be led nearer to Christ."

In contrast, this statement by Yost, who, being asked whether Orwig kept at Neitz so long because he was jealous of him, said: "No. Orwig was not envious of Neitz, he simply defended the doctrine of the church."

References on the life, work, and views of Solomon Neitz: (Y. H. II index p. 340) (E. A. 548) (S. H. 70) (E. L. 375-6) (H. R. 3-9) (G. C. G. 27 seq.) (Ep. Mar. 1886) (Gen. Conf. Journals 1859–87).

3. History of the Controversy, 1857–75

We now take up the chronological record of this period. We find it falling into three sections:

A. Doctrinal Controversy Led by Orwig and Neitz, 1857–69.

Neitz's pamphlet of Feb. 9, 1857, in reaction against Orwig's and Yeakel's articles of 1856, as Yeakel (Y. H. II 61-3) says: "produced much excitement in the church. It was almost universally held that this pamphlet developed a doctrine of holiness in direct opposition to the established doctrine of the Association as contained in our discipline and as taught in our church from the beginning.—Neitz's influence in his conference was almost unlimited.—So it came about that nearly all the younger preachers, and also a number of the older ones, stood by him, and, as it were 'swallowed' the pamphlet 'in toto.' "

Early in February 1858 Neitz published a second and supplemented edition of his pamphlet, as he said, "in order that I may be no longer misunderstood." All copies of these two original editions seem to have disappeared. Miss Carrie Neitz, daughter of Neitz, however, sent a copy of Lehr's booklet, "At the Graves of the Fathers and my Comrades in the Gospel," published in 1891, stating that the original German article by her father had been reprinted in it, pp. 31-5. Yeakel (Y. H. II 62-3) quotes parts of it and adds other quotations from the second pamphlet. Appendix VII is a careful English translation of Lehr's reprint, of the original German article, plus Yeakel's quotations from the second pamphlet.

The E. Pa. Conference of 1857, to which Neitz was accountable for doctrine and conduct, paid no attention to the first pamphlet. The first printed

comment on it appeared, two months after its issue, in the Botschafter of April 8, in the column headed "Literary Information." It reads in part: "We were very sorry that the author has not better considered:

1. The Articles of Faith and the Discipline.
2. The resolution of the Gen. Conf. of 1851 concerning the publication of pamphlets etc. by our preachers.
3. The fate of several men in the Association who injured themselves by over much lifting on this fateful rock."

On June 17th Yeakel began a second series of articles in the Botschafter criticizing Neitz's views and defending the established doctrine of the church. Yeakel cleverly changed terms,—instead of the derivatives of "heilig," e.g. "Heiligung," he used the derivatives of "voll," e.g. "Vollkommenheit," and entitled this second series, "Christian Perfection [Vollkommenheit] according to Apostolic Teaching." Thus he could cite scripture passages which he could not adduce before. The "heilig" passages favored Neitz; the "voll" passages favored Yeakel. By this device Yeakel narrowed the discussion to entire sanctification or Christian perfection proper, the completion of the process of sanctification, and made it very hard for Neitz to say that there was perfection already at the beginning of the process of sanctification.—Yeakel had unlimited space in the Botschafter while there was none for Neitz and his views. (C. B. Nov. 4, 1857).

Clewell, who succeeded Dreisbach, as editor of the Messenger, on Apr. 1, 1857, opened the columns of the Messenger for doctrinal discussion (E. M. May 13). July 22 appeared an article, "Christian Perfection or Sanctification" by 'J. G.' Sept. 2 came a criticism of 'J. G.' by 'Experience.'

During 1857 the Messenger had 3 and the Botschafter 8 articles on Christian perfection.

Yeakel (Y. H. II 63-4) records a conversation that took place during Bishop Seybert's visit with him at Easton, Pa. in November or December 1857. They had been speaking of Neitz and his pamphlet. Seybert showed Yeakel a letter from Neitz, in part as follows: "The English or Wesleyan theology is shallow.—The German theology is pithy and profound.—The German theology in a few years will drive the English from the field.—Wesley felt the need of more instruction in theology, hence he went to Germany and called on Zinzendorf, of whom he learned a good deal.—Back from Zinzendorf, Wesley established his extra sanctification doctrine, but it will not endure very long."

Two articles in the Botschafter in January 1858.—(1) "Conversations," a humorous refutation of 'the new doctrine of sanctification,' and (2) "Two Extremes," in which Orwig took middle ground between entire sanctification at regeneration and entire sanctification at death—led Neitz to put forth the second issue of his pamphlet in February. C. G. Koch editorially criticized the views of Neitz February 13.

By the time of the session of the E. Pa. Conference February 24, 1858, the orthodox party leaders had evolved a plan to stop Neitz's further public dissemination of his views. Now to quote Yeakel, (Y. H. II 68 seq.), who was an eye and ear witness:

> "When the examination of the preachers began, Neitz arose and said that, in the publication of his pamphlet, he had transgressed a law made by General Conference and in so doing he purposed to effect its repeal.—A few minutes later F. Hoffman arose holding the discipline and Neitz's pamphlet and said, 'I have charges against Bro. Neitz—that this pamphlet contradicts the discipline.' A time was appointed for taking up this charge.
>
> At the appointed time, Hoffman informed conference that he had requested W. W. Orwig, present as an advisory member from the W. Pa. Conference, to undertake the proving of the charge.—Orwig's proof was concentrated upon three points.—No one could doubt that the pamphlet directly contradicted the doctrine of the Evangelical Association on these points."

In his defense Neitz voiced regrets that his pamphlet caused so much excitement. He insisted that in the main he agreed with the church, although his views in some respects were different; that the difference was more in the expressions used by him than in the thing itself; and finally, that, in the future, he would make no trouble about the matter.

At this juncture (G. C. G. 27-9) Seybert pleaded that brotherly love might prevail. Hoffman withdrew the charge saying that, since Neitz promised to let the matter alone in the future, he was satisfied. In conclusion the conference adopted a resolution that, upon the basis of his explanation, they were satisfied with Neitz. No action was taken upon the contents of the pamphlets.

In the Botschafter March 27, Neitz toned down the affair, in his extract of the proceedings for publication, to this: "The examination of the preachers was taken up and finished in brotherly love. Hereupon a discussion over the doctrine of sanctification was opened, occasioned by a pamphlet by Bro. S. Neitz.—The conference desired from him an explanation and defense concerning it. This was given. Whereupon the conference unanimously resolved: That it was satisfied with Bro. S. Neitz's explanation and defense."

In this way Neitz made it appear to the whole church that the E. Pa. Conference had unanimously accepted his explanation and views as expressed in the pamphlet.—Koch, March 27, expressed himself as mystified by this report of the action of the conference. The people of the church in general were misled. No public setting forth of the real occurrences at the session was ever made. The majority of the church puzzled over and criticized the affair. Scattering articles on sanctification appeared in the Botschafter the rest of the year. The Messenger published almost none.

During 1859 the Messenger published only a couple of articles on the subject. The Botschafter published but four in the first six months.

Little occurred at the E. Pa. Conference in February 1859. Neitz tried to get Bishop Long into a dilemma on the articles of faith involving the subject but Long came through safely. See (Y. L. L. 216-7).

In the Botschafter July 16, Koch published Neitz's "A Definition," in which Neitz defined justification, regeneration, sanctification and Christian perfection. August 13, 'A Reader' criticized Neitz's "Definition" as too short, ambiguous and erroneous, and called upon Neitz to amplify and clarify his definitions, if he really wanted to help the church. September 10, Neitz replied that he was accustomed to state the most sacred things in the shortest possible sentences; also that he would treat 'A Reader' with contempt unless he signed his right name, concluding: "It is all the same to me whether he be a bishop or a professor."—Neitz thus challenged Bishops Seybert and Long, and Orwig, professor at union Seminary, New Berlin, Pa.

The important General Conference of 1859 convened in Naperville, Ill., October 5. Seybert and Long presided. The printed journal of this conference is the direct source for the account of it that follows.

The first day during the examination of delegates: "A charge of false doctrine was brought against S. Neitz by W. W. Orwig, who made the following motion that received a second:

'*Resolved*, that this conference regards the doctrine of Christian Sanctification, published by Bro. Neitz in two pamphlets and repeated not long ago in the Botschafter, as erroneous and contradicting the doctrine set forth in the discipline of the Evangelical Association, and that to him and every other one of our preachers the further defending and spreading of the same is hereby forbidden.' "

Neitz and his friends cast doubt upon the legality of this method of procedure. After lengthy discussion Orwig's motion was tabled to be the order of the day on the next forenoon. At that time Orwig produced the evidences and made a long argument to prove his charge.

That afternoon Neitz, though he still objected to the disciplinary legality of the proceedings, made a speech of defense. In part: "I have committed no doctrinal crime, merely a trespassing onto a schism previously held by some.—I was of the opinion that it is the same in this matter among us as among the Methodists, from whom we indeed have borrowed the doctrine concerning sanctification, and among them there are two opinions and that with mutual esteem." etc.

Then followed a number who spoke either for or against the motion. Orwig specifically explained that his wish was "not to see Bro. Neitz punished, but that he might take back and hereafter avoid such expressions as stand in contradiction to our doctrinal view, since he has indeed asserted that his doctrinal view is not essentially different."

After a full discussion, from both sides, of the legality of the trial especially, the resolution, modified a little by Orwig himself, was adopted, 44 in favor, 0 against, 7 from the E. Pa. Conference neutral.

During the forenoon of the third day, after prolonged discussion, this resolution was adopted:

> "Since it is claimed by some that the charge brought by W. W. Orwig, has not been legally brought before this body, therefore, resolved: that it is the firm conviction of this conference, and it hereby pronounces it, that the aforementioned charge has been laid before this body in legal way for decision."

Because of Seybert's failing strength, this conference elected a third bishop, Orwig. He was commissioned to write a systematic theology.

The church fully informed, by its papers, of the controversy at the general conference, tended to divide more definitely into two factions, one led by Orwig, the other by Neitz.

Yeakel (Y. H. II 84-5) preserves a letter, written Dec. 18, 1859, by Bishop Seybert, less than three weeks before his death, Jan. 4, 1860, which still emphasized holiness of heart and life.

The E. Pa. Conference in February 1860 passed the following resolution: "Whereas there was a difference of opinion, at our last general conference, relating to the legality of the charge brought against S. Neitz, which was disputed by a minority of 14 votes, therefore, resolved, that this conference is of

the same opinion as the minority."—This action was taken probably to bother Orwig, the new bishop, who presided. Bishop Thos. Bowman (H. R. 3-6) looking back from 1893, regards this action as prophetic of a policy of insubordination which continued until it split the church into two churches in 1887–94. Bowman also adds, "in 1860 Rev. S. Neitz declared to me that, in less than ten years, the chapter defining our doctrine of entire sanctification would be erased from our discipline. This furnishes the key to the purpose of his attacks upon this doctrine in his sermons and writings."

Five articles on sanctification appear in each of the two church papers in 1860. In 1861 only 1 such article is found, and that in the Botschafter. The impending and beginning of the Civil War occupied all minds. For 1862 the Botschafter carries 10 articles, 8 of which are after J. J. Esher became acting editor about the middle of May. The Messenger shows but 2 articles. The Botschafter of 1863 has 1 article, the Messenger 7, mostly quite orthodox editorials by Clewell. Appendix IX is a table showing how many articles appeared in the church papers year by year.

At the General Conference in Buffalo, N. Y., in October 1863, Orwig failed of re-election, chiefly because opposed by the Neitz faction. But the latter were unable to elect Neitz, so Orwig was succeeded by the vigorous and popular J. J. Esher. As we shall see, along with the episcopal office, Esher inherited the ill will of Neitz and his followers.

Bowman (H. R. 5-7) and Yeakel (Y. H. II 122) tell the complete inside story of this election. It was doubtless his doctrinal views that defeated Neitz.

From the time of his election Esher was heartily welcomed by the orthodox or Orwig party leaders and made one of them in the struggle to control Neitz and his party. (Y. H. II 121) (C. B. Oct. 24, 1863). Orwig exchanged places with Esher, becoming the editor of the Botschafter. Clewell, Neitz's friend, was re-elected editor of the Messenger. With Hammer, Yeakel, and Yost as the other general officers, it will be seen that Clewell stood alone and subject to suspicion.

The General Conference of 1863 gave this general direction for the church editors: "All subjects in the church papers shall be treated in harmony with the discipline." (Gen. Conf. Jour. 1863 pp. 42-3).

During 1864 the war pressed more heavily upon all, so there was very little time or energy for doctrinal controversy.

By 1865, with the war over, we find Orwig for 7 months steadily publishing articles on the nature and necessity of entire sanctification. By Aug. 4 he had become so emphatic that he practically repeated some of his rash overstatements of 1856. This at last provoked Clewell, on Aug. 14, to come out in an article in reaction, wherein he inclined far towards the views or expressions of Neitz. On Sept. 8 and 29, Orwig defended himself and attacked Clewell. Orwig kept at it until Clewell replied on Nov. 29. Orwig rejoined Dec. 8 etc.

Thus by 1866 Orwig and Clewell had become the spokesmen for the views of the two parties. Each published such articles as supported his party's views. (Y. H. II 137–9.)

In the winter of 1866 Neitz again stirred up the embers of controversy by preaching his views publicly, in a sermon in Philadelphia, using the text, 'And the very God of peace sanctify you wholly.' On June 11, 1867, he published this sermon in the "Lehigh County Patriot" and circulated it throughout the Evangelical Association. Enough of this sermon is quoted by Yeakel (Y. H. II 139–40) and Orwig (Gen. Conf. Jour. 1867 pp. 18–26) to see that Neitz had not altered his views.

One wonders whether Neitz did not do this purposely, to bring up discussion at the General Conference in October 1867, and with the hope that, perhaps, the article in the discipline would be stricken out or modified.

At any rate, during the examination of delegates, Orwig once more preferred charges against Neitz, as the conference journal records, p. 9: "because he continues to spread abroad teachings counter to the doctrine of sanctification of the Evangelical Association."

Orwig again stated that he did this, not to avenge himself nor to have Neitz punished, but to stop the further spread of his erroneous views.

To refresh the memories of all, the minutes of the General Conference of 1859 were read, also Neitz's sermon in the "Patriot."

Later on in the session, Orwig was given opportunity to prove his charges, Neitz to make his defense. The whole matter was then referred to a special committee which drew up recommendations and reported to conference after five days of work on the case: "Resolved, that Bro. Neitz makes use of expressions and figures of speech of which we decidedly disapprove, but, after the explanation which he has given, it appears as though it is not his intention to proclaim doctrines essentially different from those of our church, we therefore unanimously recommend his acquittal."

M. Lauer speaking for the committee said: "The committee based its acquittal, not upon his sermon, but upon his explanation of his sermon and upon his defense before conference."

After much discussion the acquittal report was finally adopted. Then a committee was appointed to bring in a report on the doctrine of sanctification. After five days of work this committee reported (Gen. Conf. Jour. 1867 p. 74 seq.): "Resolved, that we, still firmly convinced of the scripturalness of the doctrine of sanctification and Christian perfection, as the same is contained in our church discipline and has been delivered unto us by the fathers of our Association, unanimously declare ourselves, as heretofore, so also hereafter, to hold firmly to the following points, to teach and to defend them:

1. Our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ is the only, but all-sufficient source and perfect pattern of our sanctification and Christian perfection.

2. Entire sanctification, which as its first element, consists in a full consecration to God and in the salvation from all sin, i.e. from all evil inclinations and desires, together with the possession of the complete love of God, wrought by the Holy Spirit and Christ dwelling in us, whose blood makes us pure from all sin.

3. Christian perfection consists in this, that one, at all times and under all circumstances, loves God with the whole heart, his neighbor as himself, and heartily loves God's children, and is so minded as Jesus Christ also was, and walks as he walked.

4. That this state of sanctification and Christian perfection is attainable in this life, yea, long before death, and through watchfulness and faithfulness can be kept unimpaired to the end: so that a steady growth in grace occurs, and a progress from glory to glory in it.

5. That one attains this state of sanctification and Christian perfection through entire consecration and offering oneself up to God and through belief on the Lord Jesus Christ, as the only conditions taught and set down in the word of God; and indeed it is usually attained gradually, but also to be sure in a sudden manner, according as the surrender is complete and faith in Jesus Christ strong and without all doubt.

Resolved further, that all our preachers are most earnestly advised to use, in all their doctrinal utterances and sermons, as also in their private instruction on this highly important subject, purposely, such

expressions and manner of speech as will not be misunderstood or can lead to deviations from the clearly expressed sense of our doctrines; so that there may be one kind of opinion among us, and we use one mode of expression as accurately as possible."

The report was maturely weighed and unanimously adopted by a rising vote, as befitted the great importance of the subject. Whereupon the chairman, Bishop Joseph Long, remarked: "I wish right here to remind you that the General Conference of the Evangelical Association has just now voted unanimously, and, if this is not binding authority, then there is none in our church." And the secretary of the conference added in the minutes, "Let us hope that for the future all misunderstandings and deviations will be avoided." See also (Rem. 183) (E. A. 360-1), and (Y. H. II 140-5) for accounts of this general conference action.

Then to the question, as to what attitude was to be taken in regard to the so-called holiness meetings, Bishop Long replied: "I should think that if such meetings are held in the fear of God and for the purpose of seeking and promoting holiness, one should rejoice over it and co-operate, but if they degenerate, then the contrary should be done."

Long and Esher were elected bishops; Orwig, publisher; R. Dubs, editor of the Botschafter; Clewell, of the Messenger; Yeakel, of Sunday School literature.

Koch the secretary allowed Neitz to write up, for publication in the General Conference journal, his

speech of defense, upon which was based his acquittal. Neitz in so doing inserted bitter attacks upon the discipline and Esher, things which he did not say before the conference at all. When published these aroused once more the personal and official hostilities that had been apparently so well stilled by the action of the general conference.

Shortly after conference Clewell published in the Messenger the statement on sanctification that he had drawn up but that had been rejected by the general conference committee in selecting the one drawn up by Esher for official adoption. Dubs in the Botschafter on December 6 called public attention to this act of Clewell's. So began friction between the two editors again.

Yeakel (Y. H. II 169) reports Clewell's articles, in the Messenger in 1868, as quite at variance with the official doctrine of the church on sanctification.

On Feb. 26, 1868 the E. Pa. Conference convened in Reading, Pa. Bishop Long called upon Neitz to take back the attacks he had written into his general conference speech of defense, but Neitz maintained a stolid silence. (Y. H. II 165.) Lehr, (G. C. G. 30) says: "Some high official [Esher] wrote a letter of protest against Bro. Neitz, but expressly stated that it was no charge."—After much discussion the whole matter was tabled. Thus we see that personal matters at least were not all settled.

This conference endorsed the publication of S. G. Rhoads' "The Old Way." Chapters V and VI deal with justification, regeneration, sanctification,

growth in grace, and Christian perfection in a thoroughly Wesleyan spirit. But Rhoads does not split hairs about the time and manner of securing entire sanctification.

On June 17, in the Botschafter, Bishop Long published a strong denunciation of Neitz and promised to use the severest disciplinary measures with him, if, before his conference session in February, 1869, Neitz did not do as he had been requested to do, viz., recall his attacks on the discipline and Esher. But to this Neitz made no reply until Feb. 17, 1869, when he published, in the Botschafter, a jovial versification upon the situation entitled "Sporadisches." For the German and the English of this see Appendix VIII.

During 1868, D. B. Byers, a gifted young presiding elder of the Illinois Conference, who had attended the General Conference of 1867, but was dissatisfied with its transactions, read to a meeting of the preachers of his district, at Forreston, a "Review of the Proceedings of the General Conference of the Evangelical Association, held at Pittsburg, Pa., in October 1867." Bishop Long asked for it, read it through, and on March 22, 1869 demanded of Byers to recall his "Review" publicly. But Byers did not. So, at the Illinois Conference, April 8, Long preferred charges against him. On trial Byers pled guilty. He was then forgiven, provided he publicly disavowed the attacks he had made upon the discipline and doctrine of the church on entire sanctification, and give over his "Review"

to one of the bishops for destruction. Fuller accounts of this can be found in (Y. H. II 165-8) and (C. B. Apr. 28, 1869).

B. Influence of 'The National Holiness Movement' upon the Evangelical Association, 1867-9.

'The National Holiness Movement' grew out of the M. E. Church. Since 1842, Dr. and Mrs. W. C. Palmer had edited "The Guide to Holiness," a monthly magazine devoted to the spread of the doctrine and experience of entire sanctification. Around these leaders gathered an ever increasing number of preachers and people who emphasized this doctrine. They were mostly Methodists.

Rev. John S. Inskip became one of this party. In 1867 he led in the calling and holding of a general camp meeting, for the promotion of holiness, at Vineland, N. J., July 17-26. It was a great success. The "National Camp-Meeting Association for the Promotion of Holiness" was organized. Inskip was elected president and very capably guided the movement until his sudden death in 1884. W. McDonald and succeeding leaders allowed the movement to drift until today it is almost unknown. See the "Life of John S. Inskip" published in 1885 by the Christian Witness Co.

It was this first holiness campmeeting that was mentioned at the General Conference of the Evangelical Association in October 1867.

In the Botschafter of July 8, 1868, Dubs announced the second of these national holiness

campmeetings, which was to be held July 14-24 near Manheim, Pa. Being "in the heart of the E. Pa. Conference" (Y. H. II 170 seq) and about 2 miles from the birthplace of the sainted bishop Seybert, (C. B. July 29, Aug. 5, 1868), great numbers of the people of the Evangelical Association attended. Rev. G. Hughes (Guide to Holiness Sept. 1868, p. 89 seq.) reports that Father Henry Boehm, in his 93rd year, was present.

Yeakel, who was from the first a member of the national association, records that there were 38 Evangelical Association preachers present and that many of them became deeply affected. Rhoads says there were 41 present, and among them he names Solomon Neitz. Hughes writes: "There were 31 ministers of the Evangelical Association who visited the ground, and 7 entered into full gospel liberty. A minister of very decided ability in his conference, who had hitherto stood aloof from this movement, became convinced that it was of God, knelt humbly at the altar, received the baptism, and went home to testify what he had felt and seen." —If this was Neitz, he went to the altar with his own interpretation of what he was doing and got his blessing in his own way, for publicly he never showed any change in his views on holiness.

Rhoads in summing up the results of the meeting reported that over a thousand professed to have experienced entire sanctification.

This meeting had a great effect upon the style of the campmeetings of the Evangelical Association,

especially in Pennsylvania, where they were thereafter announced as "for the conversion of sinners and the sanctification of believers." Yeakel (Y. H. II 170 seq.) tells of several such campmeetings in the Evangelical Association.

The 'National Holiness Movement' produced other important results in the Association. In January 1869 "The Living Epistle," a monthly magazine "devoted to the spread of biblical knowledge, scriptural holiness and pure literature" made its appearance. It was financially backed, edited and published by a small group of ardent ministerial and lay advocates of holiness. For a full account of its origin see (pp. 22-4 of the Epistle, Jan. 1870) and (Y. H. II 170).

The "Introductory" article on page 1 of the first number states: "The Epistle will not be controversial —It will teach Holiness in strict accordance with the Bible and the article on Christian perfection in the Discipline of the Evangelical Association. —The Epistle will be thoroughly "Evangelical" but not sectarian."

Reuben Yeakel was editor-in-chief. E. A. Hoffman and S. L. Wiest, sons-in-law of W. W. Orwig were assistant editors. A. W. Orwig, son of W. W. Orwig was publisher.

The Epistle published many articles by preachers of the Evangelical Association, by Methodist Episcopal and other holiness divines. It reprinted many articles from the "Guide to Holiness" after which it was closely patterned.

"Das Evangelische Magazin" was the German holiness monthly started by a group of Evangelicals. The officers of the group were elected in January 1869, W. W. Orwig, W. Yost, R. Yeakel, R. Dubs, with J. J. Esher editor-in-chief. The first number appeared in July 1869. The "Foreword" by Esher showed it was to "help lead believers to entire sanctification." Yeakel (Y. H. II 170) says of it: "This magazine was chiefly intended for ministers and advocated holiness emphatically.—It was heartily welcomed.—The unfriendly attitude of Clewell gave more intensity to the cause.—Bishop Long was its first subscriber and assisted it with communications."—But Long died a week or two before the first number appeared. The "Magazin" was patterned after the "Epistle." These two monthlies became popular and influential in the Evangelical Association and in 1871 were adopted as official organs of the church. They have always stood squarely by the established doctrine of the Evangelical Association. They are regular treasure houses on sanctification, and a striking proof of the great influence of the "National Holiness Movement" on the Evangelical Association.

C. Further Controversy Led by Esher and Neitz 1869–75.

When Neitz's poem "Sporadisches" appeared in the Botschafter Feb. 17, 1869, in reply to protests by Esher and Long, it only served to make more

certain and bitter his trial at the session of the E. Pa. Conference a week or so later.

Yost testifies that Neitz, when on trial concerning the poem, said he "had no idea that Dubs would publish the verses." But Yost explains: "Dubs knew that Neitz expected him to print the poem and that he would have to do it or lose Neitz's friendship and votes. For it was through the votes controlled by Neitz that Dubs had been elected editor in 1867. Neitz, Dubs and I boarded at the same place during that general conference and I one day heard Neitz say to Dubs, "If you treat me like Billy Orwig and Koch have done 'Dann sollt dich der Teufel holen!' [Then the devil take you!]"—Dubs privately was a good friend to Neitz, but publicly always orthodox on holiness. Both attitudes were good policies to win votes."

Bowman (H. R. 5-17), Lehr (G. C. G. 39-41), Yeakel (Y. H. II 172-3) (Y. L. L. 117-121) and Yost (Rem. 192-3) and (C. B. Mar. 17, 1869), all give accounts of this last trial of Neitz —Henry Stetzel brought charges. Neitz defended himself. The matter was thoroughly discussed and referred to a committee of five who finally brought in a compromise report that outwardly gave the victory to the orthodox leaders of the church, but really made concessions to avoid trouble and to keep Neitz and his party in the Evangelical Association.

Yeakel's closing comment is: "To most of the annual conferences this judgment seemed much too lenient, to which they also gave expression. This however did not result in further action."

After Long's death in June 1869, Esher was the only bishop. He soon found the church divided into two camps—his friends and his enemies—in disciplinary, doctrinal and personal matters. Neitz was his chief enemy.

Yeakel (Y. H. II 181) tells of the third national holiness campmeeting, and the campmeetings in the Evangelical Association patterned after it, held during the summer of 1869.

During 1869 the Botschafter had over 40 articles on holiness, among them a notable series by Jacob Young, while the Messenger had only 6.

The national holiness campmeeting held at Hamilton, Mass., in 1870 affected many preachers in New England. In the '90's some of these, with their people and churches, came over into the Evangelical Association and formed its New England Conference.

In 1870 Byers assailed the Epistle with considerable zeal for its strict stand on holiness. (Y. H. II 168.) In the July, August, and September numbers of the Epistle, the editor finishes up the defense with "A Dialogue between Daniel and Reuben" [Byers and Yeakel] on entire sanctification.

The Botschafter published about 35 holiness articles in 1870, while the Messenger jumped to 50. The latter featured a series of controversial articles between Byers and Yeakel up to May 12, a series by Jacob Young followed till September 1, from then on till the end of the year Clewell's own comments and exposition on entire sanctification took the lead. In these, although he claimed to take basis

upon the discipline and the deliverance of the General Conference of 1867, Clewell deviated quite plainly from the recognized official views of the church. His article of Nov. 10, 1870 gave special offense. By continued writing Clewell finally brought upon himself action by the leaders of the church in January 1871. (Y. H. II 188-9.) Charges were preferred against Clewell. When the board of publication met to investigate them, Clewell had an injunction served on the board to stop further action. The board, in court, succeeded in having the injunction dissolved. Clewell then resigned and Yeakel was appointed editor of the Messenger, with A. W. Orwig, assistant.

Solomon Neitz had written to Clewell to maintain his position and that the E. Pa. Conference would stand by him. After Clewell resigned he went to the annual session of that conference in February 1871. It censured him for resorting to the civil courts, but still tried to shield him some. It recorded its disapproval of the actions of the board of publication. (E. A. 379.) Thos. Bowman, who was present and active at this session explains in full (H. R. 4) that this was done "not merely on account of personal sympathy for Clewell and the manner in which the board proceeded, but because the large majority of the conference, then completely controlled by Neitz, was in full harmony with the doctrinal views of Clewell.—This E. Pa. Conference action was declared illegal at the following general conference and ordered to be expunged from the minutes of the E. Pa. Conference."

The Pittsburg Conference had suspended Clewell from the ministry for his trouble with the board of publication. At its annual session Mar. 15, 1871, it required of him a written confession of having "done wrong in defaming our Articles of Faith and appealing to the civil law" before it restored his credentials to him. (Y. H. II 189.) Clewell then joined the Methodist Episcopal Church for a while.

Esher, in his episcopal address to the General Conference, convening in Naperville, Ill., Oct. 12, 1871, spoke at length on the necessity for true teaching and living of Christian perfection. He held forth quite clearly his belief that stricter application of the discipline would eliminate a few trouble makers and secure uniformity in doctrine and practice. (E. M. Oct. 19, 1871.)

Chas. Hammer preached an especially strong sermon on entire sanctification during the time of this session. (Y. H. II 151-2.)

Esher and R. Yeakel were elected bishops and the followers of Neitz despaired at last, after four failures, of ever electing Neitz bishop. During the next quadrennium they cast about for a man whom they could elect bishop to checkmate Esher.

The following editors were elected: R. Dubs of "Botschafter"; Jacob Hartzler of "Messenger"; Wm. Horn of German S. S. literature and "Magazin," which was changed into a Sunday School and family magazine; Jacob Young of English S. S. literature and "Epistle," which, adopted as the official magazine of the Evangelical Association for the spread of

holiness, was the first of its sort official for any denomination. W. F. Schneider was elected publisher.

The 30% increase in membership for the quadrennium just closed, was generally attributed to the revival of holiness in the Evangelical Association.

In 1871 the printing of articles on holiness reached its height. There were 65 in the Messenger, 40 in the Botschafter. The Neitz faction had no chance, after Clewell left, to present their views in the church papers. Continued repression led them into restless dissatisfaction, criticism, personal prejudices and hatreds, and, at last, into church politics and open revolt in the hope of getting the fair chance for public expression which they wanted. This presents an odd spectacle: two factions in the church, both zealously preaching their differing views on holiness, yet opposing and trying to get the mastery over each other. The expected result of such an impossible situation became increasingly evident, viz. a falling off of interest in holiness and an intensification of personal jealousies and party strife.

The summer of 1872 presiding elder J. Yeakel held very successfully a union holiness camp-meeting at Easton, Pa. The newly elected bishop R. Yeakel was the chief speaker—Thos. Bowman conducted a similar one at Ringgold, Pa. (Y. H. II 195-8.)

W. W. Orwig in 1872 published his book "Die Heilsfuelle" (The Fulness of Salvation). It was

devoted to the elucidation of sanctification. It was cordially welcomed by the leaders of the Evangelical Association and Dr. Nast of the German Methodist Episcopal Church.

The number of articles on holiness in the church papers fell off one half in 1872. In 1873 the Botschafter, edited by Dubs, fell off still more.

During 1873, H. J. Bowman attacked the views of J. Hartzler, editor of the Messenger, concerning sanctification. Byers in turn attacked Bowman as one who bothered Christians simply because they did not fall into line with the Inskip methods of promoting holiness.

Bishop Esher, after holding the annual conferences in 1873, summed up the spiritual needs of the Evangelical Association as the needs for deeper piety, holy living, and stricter enforcement of the discipline. (Y. H. II 200-2) (C. B. Oct. 8, 1873). Yeakel himself adds: "About half of the preachers had assumed a neutral attitude toward the holiness movement of the past six or eight years, criticized it and remained far behind. Others contented themselves with superficiality.—Thus we notice two opposing tendencies in the Evangelical Association, one toward holiness, the other toward moral deterioration.—The painful query would often arise: Which of the two will finally obtain the victory?"

In 1874 the Botschafter fell off still more, to only 13 holiness articles. The Messenger staged a controversial discussion between "Occasional," who probably was Byers, and J. Lerch and W. W. Orwig.

During the summer of 1874 J. Yeakel held another union holiness campmeeting at Easton, Pa. with the same chief speaker and general results as the one of 1872.

During 1874 Christopher Yeakel, a local preacher of Pennsylvania, passed away, having reached his 90th year. Y. H. II 204-5 is an account of his unusually clear views on entire sanctification.

Yeakel (Y. H. II 207-8) reports, of Thos. Bowman's campmeeting at Bingen, Pa. in August 1875, that "scores entered into the experience of perfect love."

By 1875, the Living Epistle, the only monthly of the Evangelical Association devoted at all to holiness, had become two thirds a family and Sunday School magazine.

During 1875 the Messenger had only 7 holiness articles, the Botschafter 12. Thus, from 1871-5, they fell off from 105 to 19 such articles, a decrease to one-fifth of what they had held just 4 years previous. There was no controversy over entire sanctification in the church papers in 1875. The church leaders were engaged in official and personal rivalries by that time. The period of controversy over the doctrine of Christian perfection had clearly ended.

To sum up this period: From 1857, when Neitz came out in reply to Orwig (and Yeakel), until 1867, when Neitz was quite effectively silenced, largely as a result of Orwig's efforts, these two men were the leaders of two parties in the Evangelical

Association quite definitely opposed to each other in controversy over the doctrine of Christian perfection. From 1867 to 1871, the National Holiness Movement gave a great impetus to the party and views headed by Orwig and Esher. After the death of Bishop Long in 1869, and more evidently so after 1871, the struggle between the factions gradually changed from one over doctrine to one over personal and disciplinary issues. These latter focussed in the official standing and policy of Bishop J. J. Esher, Doctrinal controversy by 1875 gave way to this new struggle which it had helped to originate.

CHAPTER IV

THE PERIOD OF DECLINE, 1875–1894

Factional Struggle for Supremacy and Consequent Decline of Interest in Christian Perfection

The General Conference of 1875 met in Philadelphia, on October 14. It was regarded by the Neitz and Esher factions chiefly as an opportunity to advance their opposing interests. For party spirit had steadily increased ever since the Neitz-Orwig conflict in 1859. By 1875 doctrinal items had become purely incidental, used simply as one of many means to the end of factional advancement and power. This strife kept growing more bitter, as the years passed by until, in 1887-94, it split the church into two.

The Esher faction, speaking through Yeakel and Esher in the episcopal message of 1875 announced their intention to wield the discipline more diligently than ever to establish godliness and order in the church. (Y. H. II 208-9.)

The Neitz faction were determined to place their own men in the offices of the church to enforce the discipline as they interpreted it.

The conference elected four bishops: J. J. Esher, R. Yeakel, R. Dubs, and Thos. Bowman. Dubs by shrewd personal policy had gained the backing of the Neitz faction and enough of the Esher faction to

elect him. He went in, moved by political considerations and personal ambitions, to oppose Esher and to undermine his official power and influence in the church, (H. R. 18-9). Dubs thus became the hope and the leader of the party opposed to Esher, inheriting the spirit and the following of Neitz. For the fuller story of the party motives of this time read (H. R. preface, introduction, and pp. 1-20) (E. A. 557-8) and (Y. H. II 335).

The other general officers were re-elected except that H. J. Bowman replaced Young as editor of the Epistle and M. Lauer followed Dubs as editor of the Botschafter. Yost says that several voted for D. B. Byers for editor of the Epistle, just to bother him, knowing well that he was not in sympathy with the particular emphasis that the Epistle placed upon entire sanctification. After he had received enough votes to make him really a candidate, Byers, amidst the smiles of many, withdrew his name.

In 1876 the Botschafter had only 7 articles on the general subject of holiness. These were mostly by Lauer, the editor. The Messenger had 26, mostly in the three altercations between (1) "Inquirer" and Bishop Yeakel, (2) Byers and Thos. K. Doty, (3) J. Hartzler of the Messenger and H. J. Bowman of the Epistle.

The biography of S. G. Rhoads appears in the Messenger, Jan. 20, 1876. Bishop S. P. Spreng calls Jacob Young the greatest holiness orator of the Evangelical Association, during these years.

1877 saw 20 holiness articles in the Botschafter, 6 were a discussion between Orwig and H. J. Bowman, 7 were by editor Lauer.—There were 20 articles in the Messenger; three discussions,—(1) Byers vs. Bishop Yeakel, (2) J. Hartzler vs. H. J. Bowman, and (3) J. Hartzler vs. Bishop Yeakel.

In Aug. 1877 a new edition of the German hymnbook of the Evangelical Association came out. It contained 585 pages. The hymns on pp. 443-70 were on sanctification and Christian perfection.

For 1878, there were 5 articles in the Botschafter, 4 by Lauer; also 5 scattered articles in the Messenger.—In the Epistle appeared a disputation between Byers and H. J. Bowman.

In the Messenger of May 22, 1879, Bishop Dubs published an article on the holiness movement. Bowman reprinted it in the Epistle commenting that he was "glad that the Bishop had spoken so plainly on entire sanctification as 'the central idea of experimental Christianity'—also that the Bishop rejoices in having this doctrine 'strongly presented to believers and the attainment of that state of grace pressingly urged upon the church.' "

Editor Hartzler in the Messenger, July 3, referred to Bowman's comments on Dubs as follows: "It is no new thing for Bishop Dubs to express himself 'so plainly on entire sanctification.'—He has always been an earnest defender of holiness, as held by our church. No one has been more definite and emphatic than he.—He has always been careful to avoid the error of 'taking holiness out of its proper connec-

tions.' It is the very heart of the Christian scheme, but you must not tear it loose. It is the grand aim of remedial love, but not the whole." Hartzler remarked that Dubs referred to "the cause of the 'calm in the so-called holiness movement' as being in part 'injudicious leaders, who endeavored to enforce measures and methods which produced harm.' "

This 'calm' to which Dubs referred can be noted in the church papers: 40 articles appeared in them in 1877, only 10 in 1878, and only 5 in 1879 up to the time, May, when Dubs published his article of comment upon the 'calm.' This comment naturally called forth more articles in the latter part of the year, enough to make 20 for the whole year, 8 in the Botschafter, 12 in the Messenger.

General Conference was held in Chicago, in October 1879. The episcopal message placed renewed emphasis upon the need for and importance of holiness in the Evangelical Association, (V. H. 210-1).

Esher, Dubs, and Bowman were elected bishops. Yeakel became principal of the theological seminary in Naperville, Ill.

Lauer and Yost were elected publishers; Horn, editor of the Botschafter; H. B. Hartzler, of the Messenger; H. J. Bowman of the Epistle, and C. A. Thomas of the Magazin.

In January 1880, very much to the annoyance of Esher and the orthodox party, editor H. B. Hartzler of the Messenger chose T. G. Clewell as assistant

editor. But Dubs and his party were able to keep Clewell there.

In 1881 the total number of articles on entire sanctification, etc., was the lowest since 1864, only 8, 6 in the Botschafter, 2 in the Messenger.

In 1882 there was an increase to 8 in the Botschafter, nearly all by Esher, and 7 in the Messenger.

This same year, H. J. Bowman published his book, a compilation of "Voices on Holiness."—The New English hymnbook of the Evangelical Association came out, having 875 hymns; those 359-90 were on entire sanctification,—No. 362 by A. W. Orwig, No. 385 by Wm. Horn.

In 1883 each of the church papers carried 5 scattered articles on sanctification. For a table of the number of holiness articles appearing in the church papers year by year see Appendix IX.

At this time Bishop Esher completed the revision of the catechism of the church, which he had been asked to write. Let me cite here the questions and answers which Esher had in the catechism upon our subject: (pp. 122-129).

"301. What is sanctification?
That work of the Holy Spirit in us whereby our sanctification is perfected.

302. Wherein does entire sanctification consist?
In purification from all sin or eradication of all evil affections and desires; and in our complete renewal and perfect consecration of spirit, soul, and body to the service and glory of God.

303. What is the divine condition of our sanctification?
Faith in Jesus Christ.
304. How does this faith of the child of God approve itself unto sanctification?
By our walking in the light and denying all ungodliness and worldly lusts; by childlike fidelity toward God and resignation to his will; by an ardent desire for the fullness of salvation in Christ, and a confident appropriation of the same to ourselves.
305. What are the means through which the Holy Spirit effects the work of sanctification in God's children?
The Word of God, and the blood of Jesus Christ, the Son of God.
306. What does sanctification effect?
Christian Perfection.
307. Wherein does Christian perfection consist?
In being pure as Jesus Christ our pattern is pure, having in us the same mind which was also in Him, and walking even as He walked.
308. Whereby does Christian perfection prove itself?
Herein, that we in truth love God perfectly, and our neighbors as ourselves, and thus keep the commandments of God.
309. What is the effect of Christian perfection?
A constantly increasing growth in divine knowledge and spiritual strength, in fruitfulness in good works to the glory of God, and in the blessedness of this state of grace.

310. Who attains to this state of sanctification and Christian perfection?
It is the calling and privilege of every Christian in this life to be wholly sanctified and without blame before God, in love, and thus to walk in the commandments of God.

311. Has a Christian, thus consecrated to God, still to endure sufferings and temptations?
Yes; for sanctification and Christian perfection by no means exempt him from these things; but he endures them with perfect resignation and filial trust in God, and is thankful in all things.

312. Is such a Christian still in danger of falling?
Yes; for even our Lord was tempted in all points, yet without sin; so also is the wholly sanctified Christian assailed outwardly with all manner of temptations.

313. How should he guard against these temptations?
He should always watch, and pray without ceasing, preserve a conscience void of offence, and ever strengthen himself by means of the Word of God.

314. What is the result of such life and conduct?
The Christian thus lives by the faith of the Son of God, and thereby has constant and perfect victory over every sin, grace to keep the commandments of God and to be faithful in his calling, and is kept by the power of God unto eternal salvation."

General Conference had Esher write a "Smaller Catechism," in simpler terms and sentences, for the younger catechumens. It was published in 1889 and does not differ in substance from this one of 1883.

The General Conference of 1883 met in Allentown, Pa., on October 4th. S. Neitz was a delegate but physically unable to attend. Expression of sympathy was sent to him by the conference. By this time so many items of official misconduct had accumulated against Dubs that Esher brought charges against him. (E. A. 558-61) (H. R. 20-79). After much open discussion, conference directed the three bishops to settle their difference privately if possible. After an admission of his guilt by Dubs, Esher and Bowman no longer pressed the charges against him hoping that Dubs would desist from his machinations. But this proved to be a vain hope.

The only change in the list of general officers elected by this general conference was P. W. Raidabaugh, a Dubs man, displacing H. J. Bowman as editor of the Epistle.

In 1884 the papers had 13 articles on holiness; in 1885 only 4, the lowest since 1861.

In 1885 J. Yeakel published his book "Die Heiligung des Menschen" (The Sanctification of Man). The book was dedicated to Bishop Esher. It treated sanctification under the following heads:

1. The Necessity for Sanctification.
2. The Preparation for Sanctification.
3. The Mediation of Sanctification.
4. The Consummation of Sanctification.
5. The Final Aim of Sanctification.

In 1886 the papers again had a total of only 4 articles on holiness. These were all in the Messenger.

January 2, 1887 Chas. Hammer, a champion of holiness died. See (S. H. 69-70) for Spreng's comment upon Hammer's life.

The General Conference met September 1, 1887, in Buffalo, N. Y. For the stormy history of the ever increasing partisan jealousies and strife since 1883, including this general conference, see (H. R. 80-107) (E. A. 561-7). Suffice it for our purposes to say that charges were presented against H B Hartzler for official misconduct, as editor of the Messenger, and that, after a long and bitterly fought trial, he was deposed. The Esher party were the "majority" at this general conference and so came out ahead of the Dubs party known as the "minority."

Esher, Dubs, and Bowman were re-elected bishops. S. P. Spreng was elected editor of the Messenger. J. C. Hornberger, an Esher man, was elected editor of the Epistle.

In the Messenger of Sept. 6, the episcopal message once more bewailed the fact of a serious lack of sanctification on the part of the ministers of the Association.

The minority, or Dubs party, deprived of any paper in which they could effectually voice their views, grievances, and charges, established and incorporated "The Evangelical Publishing Co." at Harrisburg, Pa., and on Nov. 14, 1887, began to

issue a weekly paper called "The Evangelical." Having a paper which they absolutely owned and controlled, the minority began to say all that they wanted to about the leaders of the majority. The Botschafter and the Messenger made valiant response and so the disturbance in the Evangelical Association multiplied.

In the spring of 1889 Esher drew up a carefully worded episcopal address to quiet the crisis precipitated by the clash at the general conference of 1887. It was a detailed, firm, yet kindly statement of facts relative thereto and an appeal for loyalty and harmony in the church. Dubs refused to sign it, even though he did not point out anything objectionable in it, and it was never published. The concluding paragraphs of this address are an urgent exhortation to holiness on the part of the ministry and people. (H. R. 108-15.)

In February 1890 Dubs was at last brought to trial, convicted and deposed. (H. R. 116-26) (E. A. 569). His followers began to withdraw from the Evangelical Association and to organize themselves under the name of the "United Evangelicals." In all this, however, there was no question of doctrinal differences. Dubs moved to Chicago and became editor of the "Deutsche Allgemeine Zeitung" which became the German paper of the minority party.

Two general conferences were held in 1891. The majority held theirs at Indianapolis. They elected Esher, Bowman, Breyfogel, and Horn bishops; Lauer and Mattill publishers; G. Heinmiller, editor

of the Botschafter; Spreng, of the Messenger; Hornberger, of the Epistle; Thomas, of the Magazin.—The minority held their general conference at Philadelphia. They elected Dubs, Haman, and Stanford bishops, also a full set of editors. About two-fifths of the members of the church adhered to the minority. The split did not occur because of doctrinal differences, for orthodox and irregular thinkers about entire sanctification were to be found in both groups. (H. R. 127 seq.) (E. A 569-73) and (Introduction to U. E. Discipline). Dubs himself in an editorial in the Deutsche Allgemeine Zeitung, Mar. 15, 1893, says that R. Yeakel had told the M. E. preachers at Linwood Park National Holiness Campmeeting that the majority was for holiness but the minority was against it, hence the split. Then Dubs says: "The minority also, in this regard, stands upon the old ground of the Evangelical fathers, and strives also to carry through this doctrine in a practical way. On this point there prevails no difference of opinion on the part of the minority."

In 1893 Joshua Gill, J. C. Briggs and D. F. Burns attended the E. Pa. Conference session, and joined the Evangelical Association. They had been Methodist Episcopal holiness preachers, but now wanted to connect up their people and churches, in the New England states, with the Evangelical Association. In this session of 1893, this New England work was made a part of the Allentown District of the E. Pa. Conference. In 1895 it was constituted a district

under Joshua Gill as presiding elder. In 1896 the work was made the New England Conference of the Evangelical Association. For the whole story see (E. M. Oct. 23, 1907, p. 24, biography of Joshua Gill.—Today, 1920, the New England Conference has the reputation as that conference which most emphasizes entire sanctification. Bishop Breyfogel, who is well acquainted with the work there, when asked whether they were radicals on the doctrine, replied "They emphasize it very prominently, but from the very first Gill kept the emphasis sane and sound."

In 1894 appeared the book entitled "The Congress of the Evangelical Association." It was compiled and edited by G. C. Knobel. It was a complete record of the Congress of the Evangelical Association held in Chicago, Sept. 19-21, 1893, which was a small part of the World's Congress on Religion held in connection with the World's Columbian Exposition. Chapter III was a paper by Bishop J. J. Esher setting forth "A Brief Statement of the Doctrine of the Evangelical Association." Pages 101-2, part of this chapter, contain a statement on sanctification.

"Gebet und Danklieder" a German religious songbook, edited by Wm. Horn, was published in 1894. It comprised 300 songs, 9 of which were listed under "Heiligung." 3 of these were by Horn himself, who ranks very high as a religious German poet. His book of poems "Wegeblueten" contains several along the line of entire sanctification, e.g.,

p. 212 "O Glueck der Erloesten," and p. 218 "Komm Flammengeist."

In 1894 Thomas and Mattill published "The Evangelical Album." On p. 30, opposite the picture of J. C. Hornberger, editor of the Living Epistle, we read: "Bro. Hornberger is serving his second term as editor of the only official holiness magazine in the world, "The Living Epistle."

The event which completes the separation of the two parties and closes this period is the first regular general conference of the United Evangelical Church which convened in Naperville, Ill., Nov. 29, 1894. It completed the organization of that church, adopted a discipline with articles of faith and rules of polity, provided for a catechism, etc.

From the official published journal of that conference we quote: (p. 13) "On motion of Rev. W. F. Heil, the Bishops were appointed a committee on the Introduction, Articles of Faith, and the article on Christian Perfection." (p. 42) "On motion of Rev. W. F. Heil, it was resolved that the Tract on Christian Perfection, written by John Wesley, and embodied in the old book of Discipline, shall be inserted immediately after the Articles of Faith in the new Discipline."

This conference adopted a regular article of faith (XI. Of Sanctification) and a chapter on Christian perfection similar to the one in the discipline of the Evangelical Association.

W. F. Heil, in a letter from Allentown, Pa., dated Feb. 15, 1919, names the sources of the two

doctrinal statements: "As I recall, the Chapter on Christian Perfection was prepared with Wesley's statement as a basis. The Articles of Faith were based largely on a series of articles which Dr. Milton S. Terry of Garrett Biblical Institute, Evanston, Ill., had prepared. Bishop Dubs had secured them in printed form for the use of our conference."

Later in the spring of 1919, Dr. Terry's widow and daughter corroborated this statement made by Heil.

The "Evangelische Zeitschrift" of Sept. 8, 1896 contains a complete account, by R. Dubs, of how Dr. Terry helped the United Evangelical Church to formulate its articles of faith.

See Appendix V for this United Evangelical article of faith and the doctrinal chapter on Christian perfection.

The United Evangelicals also made their articles of faith unalterable. So the doctrine of entire sanctification is fastened upon them even more securely than it is upon the members of the Evangelical Association. While the wording of their article and chapter is original with them, the doctrinal content is identical with that of the chapter in the discipline of the Evangelical Association. Thus no one can say that it was difference over entire sanctification that finally split the Evangelical Association of 1875 into two churches by 1894.

The discipline adopted in 1894 has other references to this state of Christian perfection, e.g., p. 65, Spiritual Qualifications of the preacher; and

pp. 73-4, Question 4 asked of applicants for the ministry.

This conference (pp. 22, 40) examined and officially endorsed an article, written by D. B. Byers, setting forth, from the standpoint of the minority, the causes for the division in the Evangelical Association. This article was written for the American Series of Church Histories, but was not published therein.—S. P. Spreng has a sketch of the history of the Evangelical Association in this series of church histories.

We have found this a period of factional struggle for supremacy ending in the division of the Evangelical Association. We have also found that the doctrine of Christian perfection was not the bone of contention, and that, while it was theoretically upheld by most of the leaders of both factions, it was a steadily declining factor in the actual thinking and living of the ministry and laity of the church. To use a figure of speech: controversy over the doctrine of Christian perfection from 1857–75 was the ax that started the cleft in the log of church solidarity, but personal ambitions and questions of church authority and polity were the wedges that completed the split.

CHAPTER V

THE PERIOD OF QUIESCENCE, 1895–1920

Doctrine of Christian Perfection Official, Generally Accepted, but Little Emphasized in the Two Churches

1. United Evangelical Church

In 1895 the German catechism of the United Evangelical Church was published. It was compiled by J. Kaechele. Questions 209-11 deal with the subject of sanctification, but in no new way.

The German hymnal was published this year, but contained no special section of hymns on sanctification.

The United Evangelical Church bought 'The Evangelical" and "Die Evangelische Zeitschrift" from their groups of Evangelical owners, and published them thereafter as the official church papers. "The Evangelical" had been started in 1887, published in Harrisburg, Pa. by S. L. Wiest, edited by H. B. Hartzler and W. M. Stanford until 1891, when J. M. Ettinger became editor. In the Evangelical, of Nov. 28, 1894 Ettinger had an editorial on holiness and the minority. In February 1895 Ettinger suddenly died. B. J. Smoyer was editor until July 1895, when H. B. Hartzler took up the task again, serving until 1902, when he was elected bishop.

"Die Evangelische Zeitschrift" had been started in 1888, as "Die Deutsche Allgemeine Zeitung" by

the Volksblatt Pub. Co. in Geneseo, Ill. Prof. C. A. Paeth was its first editor, beginning January 1888. After a few months M. Stamm became editor until the spring of 1889. Then the paper was published in Chicago with Paeth as editor again until Mar. 6, 1890, when R. Dubs became editor. In January 1894 the name of the paper was changed to "Die Evangelische Zeitschrift." The paper from its inception had championed the cause of the "minority," so it was natural for the General Conference of the United Evangelical Church to buy it, at the close of 1894, as the official German paper for the church. From June, 1895 until the spring of 1900 C. Newton Dubs, son of Bishop Dubs, was the editor of the Zeitschrift.

For the number of articles on Christian perfection, sanctification, etc., appearing in the two papers year by year see Appendix IX. It will be noticed that for the 16 years 1888–1903 inclusive there was a total of only 40 articles in the Evangelical, an average of 2½ articles per year. Only one year were there as many as 5. There was a total of only 30 articles in the German paper for these 16 years, an average of less than 2 articles per year. Only 2 years had as many as 5 articles. This shows very clearly how little attention was given to the doctrine of Christian perfection by the leaders of the United Evangelical Church up to 1904. The interest has not increased any since then. No controversy is recorded. Quiescence concerning the doctrine of Christian perfection characterizes the United Evangelical Church during this whole period.

The discipline was published in February 1895. It placed the doctrine of Christian perfection before the church in its accepted, Wesleyan form.

In 1896 M. J. Carothers and D. B. Byers passed away. D. B. Byers never stirred up any disputations in the United Evangelical Church about Christian perfection. Father M. Stamm, of Chicago, in April 1920, praised Byers as a well-balanced theological thinker, who kept upon sound Evangelical, middle-ground in regard to entire sanctification.

During the conference year 1897–8 J. Kaechele, the most prolific writer, and Jacob Saylor, the oldest minister of the United Evangelical Church passed away. Both were loyal to the accepted doctrine on sanctification.

The second General Conference of the United Evangelical Church met Oct. 6, 1898, in Johnstown, Pa. The bishops, Dubs and Stanford were re-elected, also Hartzler, editor of the Evangelical. C. N. Dubs was newly elected editor of the Zeitschrift.

The episcopal message, setting forth the "State of the Church," (U. E. Gen. Conf. Journal 1898, pp. 12, 13) says: "If full salvation and Christian perfection is to be attained, as taught and insisted upon so strenuously by the fathers of the church, then we must continue, as they did, to insist on a sound conversion, on a thorough renewal of the man by the Holy Spirit and the Word of God." And the Zeitschrift, Oct. 10, 1898, in publishing the episcopal message adds: "our ministers must experience,

exemplify and preach sanctification and Christian perfection."

This conference made provisions for an English Catechism, which was written by Jacob Hartzler, and published in 1901. Pages 56 and 57 have the following on sanctification:

"Question 150. What is sanctification?
Answer. Sanctification is the removal of the depravity of the human heart, and the infusion of love to God and man.
Question 151. When does sanctification begin?
Answer. Sanctification is begun in regeneration, but not completed.
"Question 152. What is entire sanctification?
Answer. Entire sanctification, or Christian perfection, is a state of righteousness and true holiness, which every regenerate believer may attain. It consists in being cleansed from all sin, loving God with all the heart, soul, mind, and strength, and loving our neighbor as ourselves.
Question 153. Is it the privilege of believers to be wholly sanctified in this life?
Answer. This gracious state of perfect love is attainable in this life by faith, both gradually and instantaneously, and should be earnestly sought by every child of God. But it does not deliver us from the infirmities, ignorance, and mistakes which are common to man."

Mar. 17, 1902, in an editorial in the Zeitschrift, headed "The Beautiful Christian Middle-Ground," M. Stamm spoke out against two extreme positions sometimes assumed on holiness. On March 31 appeared an article which sought to connect Esher's views and profession of Christian perfection with his exalted ideas of his episcopal power.—M. Stamm was associate editor of the Zeitschrift under R. Dubs from the spring of 1900 to the fall of 1902.

The third General Conference convened in Williamsport, Pa. Oct. 9, 1902. The episcopal message, laid more emphasis than usual upon the neglect in seeking entire sanctification manifest throughout the church, and urged the ministry and laity to attain to this state of grace. (1902 Gen. Conf. Jour. pp. 32-3.)

H. B. Hartzler and W. F. Heil were elected bishops; Stanford and R. Dubs editors.

The fourth General Conference met in Cedar Rapids, Ia., Oct. 4, 1906. The episcopal message says nothing about sanctification.

The General Conference of Oct. 6, 1910, was held in Canton, Ohio. U. F. Swengel and W. H. Fouke were elected bishops. J. J. Nungesser succeeded Wiest as publisher; H. B. Hartzler and R. Dubs continued as editors.

The Courses of Study for junior preachers (1910 Gen. Conf. Jour. pp. 96-7) demand among other things, in the 3rd year, a written sermon on Christian Perfection to be examined as to doctrine and composition, and, in the 4th year, the reading of a biography of John Wesley.

The first steps looking toward reunion with the Evangelical Association at some future time were taken by the United Evangelical Church during this conference.

The General Conference of Oct. 1, 1914 was held in Barrington, Ill. Fouke, R. Dubs, and Swengel were elected bishops, Hartzler, editor of the Evangelical. Further progress was made toward reunion with the Evangelical Association. G. Heinmiller of the Evangelical Association addressed the general conference on the subject. In regard to the articles of faith of the reunited church, it was reported as tentatively agreed upon that those of the Evangelical Association shall be taken but supplemented with the additional articles of faith in the discipline of the United Evangelical Church. This last provision would mean that the United Evangelical 'Article XI Of Sanctification' would become official and binding as an article of faith for all after reunion. This would greatly increase the authority of the doctrine.

Mar. 31, 1915, Bishop R. Dubs passed away, after 59 years in the active ministry. See (1918, Gen. Conf. Jour. pp. 84-5) or the United Evangelical church papers of April 1915 for his biography.

Jan. 14, 1916, C. S. Haman, bishop 1891-4, passed to his reward. He was always orthodox on sanctification. For shetch of his life see 1918 Gen. Conf. Jour. pp. 85-6.

The General Conference of Oct. 3, 1918 gathered at York, Pa. W. F. Heil and M. T. Maze were newly elected bishops, Hartzler and Fouke editors

of the Evangelical. The Zeitschrift had been discontinued at the end of 1917, partly because of anti-German sentiment brought on by the great world war, but chiefly because the United Evangelical Church had become an English reading and speaking church.

By the time of the holding of this conference great progress had been made toward the now not distant reunion with the Evangelical Association.

In the course of a conversation, Apr. 19, 1920, Rev. C. A. Fuessle, Chicago, Ill., for many years a prominent minister in the Evangelical Association and the United Evangelical Church, said that he had always believed and taught as follows on the doctrine of Christian perfection:

> "In conversion we are forgiven and regenerated, our sins are washed away; but evil affections and desires, inclinations to think or to do evil may remain with us. They are not sin, but they would lead us naturally into sin, unless we fought against them and overcame them.
>
> In sanctification, both gradual and instantaneous, these inclinations are removed, eradicated, so that we no longer have evil affections or desires, nor tendencies to do the wrong, which we must check or overcome. Our natural desire and tendency is now, after being sanctified, to love and to seek to do the right, God's will. We have been transformed. We are true children of God, true Christians!"

On Apr. 21, 1920, Father M. Stamm, one of the mainstays of the minority and of the United Evangelical Church from the days of the beginning of strife, though as he describes himself, "always a man of peace and not given to writing theoretical views on holiness, or professing stages of Christian experience beyond what he was living and practicing," said that, in his own thought on Christian perfection, he "never separated gradual sanctification from the instantaneous work of entire sanctification. The important thing with me always was this, that the actual daily living must be right, holy, Christlike, and tally with and make effective one's testimony of Christian experience."

He also remarked that "for many years now, during the time of 'the split' and ever since, the preachers in both churches have had much less to say about holiness and Christian perfection than they once had."

This last statement of Father Stamm's is an excellent summary of this period.

2. Evangelical Association

After the complete separation and organization of the United Evangelical Church in 1894, the Evangelical Association peacefully pursued its own way. Since the Association kept the discipline in unaltered form, and since the split was not over doctrinal matters, no marked doctrinal reaction resulted.

In the Messenger for 1895 appeared 7 articles on Christian perfection, 4 of these by S. Hoy.

The Epistle by this time had a circulation of only 1,000 as compared to 3,000 in the late '60's and early '70's.

General Conference met in Elgin, Ill., Oct. 3-18. The episcopal address, referring to "the inner state of the church," (Gen. Conf. Jour., 1895, p. 16) calls sanctification a fundamental to a satisfactory spiritual state for members and ministry. On page 21 the address dwells upon the need of a truly sanctified ministry. On pp. 101-2 is reprinted and reaffirmed the statement of the General Conference of 1867 on "Sanctification."

Elections resulted: Bishops: Esher, Bowman, Breyfogel, and Horn. Editors: Heinmiller of Botschafter, Spreng of Messenger, Hornberger of Epistle.

For the number of articles on Christian perfection, etc., appearing in the Messenger and Botschafter during the ensuing years see Appendix IX. In the 10 years indicated after 1895, the Botschafter has 35 articles, the Messenger 70; but this totals only 60% of the number for 1895 and the 9 years preceding. This indicates a continued decline.

In July 1899 Yeakel's Commentary on the Church Discipline was published to "supply an urgent want, more particularly with respect to the 7th Article of Faith, on Original Sin, and the chapter on Entire Sanctification and Christian Perfection." (Y. C. D. 6.)

Yeakel discussed (Y. C. D. 65-78) the article or chapter on Entire Sanctification under the following headings:

1. History of the Article in Our Discipline.
2. Dogmatic Value of this Article.
3. Presuppositions of this Article.
4. Subjective or Personal Aspect of this Article.
5. Doctrinal Contents of this Article.
   (a) Scriptural Establishing of the Doctrine.
   (b) This Doctrine Established by Experience.
6. This Sanctification Specific.
7. A More Particular Definition of this Sanctification.
8. Sanctification and Perfection Synonymous yet Different.
9. The Gradual and Instantaneous Experience of Entire Sanctification.
10. Continual Growth in Grace.
11. Caution against Misconceptions.
12. Final Exhortation to Preachers.

The General Conference of 1899 was held October 5-23, in St. Paul, Minn. Rev. J. H. Lamb was newly elected editor of the Epistle.

Bishop Esher reported that he had completed the first two volumes of a work on Christian Theology and had begun on the third volume. (Gen. Conf. Jour., 1899, p. 39). The Committee on the Revision of the Study-Course for Junior Preachers recommended "That Esher's "Christliche Theologie" be substituted in the German course for the Systematic Theology of Sulzberger." (p. 124.) This was done.

This work of Esher's was the first complete systematic theology written by a member of the Evangelical Association. It was a German work. In Vol. II, pp. 448-508 Esher treated the doctrines of "Sanctification and Christian Perfection" in the following topics:

I. Introductory.
II. Nature of Sanctification regarded negatively.
III. Nature of Sanctification regarded positively.
IV. Sanctification a Work of the Triune God.
V. Sanctification a Human Matter.
VI. Possibility of Entire Sanctification.
VII. Sanctification as a Gradual and a Sudden Work.
VIII. State of the Wholly Sanctified.
IX. Evidence and Confession of Entire Sanctification.
X. A Concluding Word.

This exposition of Entire Sanctification and Christian Perfection by Bishop Esher became official for the Association. It was authoritative in the theological schools of the church as well as in the German course of study for Junior preachers.

Among the leaders in the church who died during the quadrennium, were several who had stood out as champions of holiness, e.g. Christian Hummel, C. G. Koch, Jesse Yeakel, and J. L. W. Seibert.

On Apr. 16, 1901, Bishop J. J. Esher died in Chicago, Ill. He had served as bishop for over 37

years. For a record of his life and works read Wm. Horn's "Esher's Leben und Wirken."

The General Conference of Oct. 1-21, 1903, was held in Berlin (now Kitchener) Ont. Canada. L. H Seager succeeded Lamb as editor of the Epistle.

In 1904, Reuben Yeakel closed his busy life. He rose to places of power and influence in the Evangelical Association just because of his defense of the views of the church against Neitz, Byers, and others. See the memorial of Yeakel (Gen. Conf. Jour., 1907, pp. 165-6) and (S. H. 77-8).

In 1905 appeared the smaller catechism by Bishop Bowman. It was a simplification of Esher's catechism. Questions 150-4 deal with sanctification and entire sanctification.

In 1906 came S. P. Spreng's "The Sinner and His Saviour," dealing with the plan of salvation. Chapters VI and VII deal with sanctification, entire sanctification, holiness, and progress in the Christian life.

In 1907 Bishop Horn published "Esher's Leben und Wirken," telling of Esher's personal experience of sanctification, and his official activity in promoting that doctrine. (pp. 170-4, 304-5, 387, 396-7, 418-22.)

The General Conference held in Milwaukee, Wis., Oct. 3-22, 1907, elected Samuel P. Spreng as the fourth bishop, and Wm. H. Bucks to succeed him as editor of the Messenger. The Epistle was discontinued.

Besides R. Yeakel, J. C. Hornberger and Joshua Gill, two prominent advocates of holiness, passed away during this quadrennium.

The episcopal message (Gen. Conf. Jour. 1907 p. 32) put a special emphasis upon the need for sound doctrine and in particular: "There needs to be sound doctrine not only in a general sense, but also in a special Evangelical sense of 'Salvation from All Sin,'—by a vital union with Christ by faith.—This is the one glorious specialty of the Evangelical itinerant wherever he is sent to preach."

The first move toward seeking an ultimate reunion with the United Evangelical Church was taken by this conference in the appointing of a "Commission on Church Federation and Union." See (Gen. Conf. Jour. 1907 pp. 117-8).

In 1909 came Bishop Bowman's book "The Great Salvation." The last five chapters deal with our general theme; they are headed:

VIII. Are Believers Wholly Sanctified in Conversion?
IX. Progress in the Divine Life.
X. What is Implied in Entire Sanctification?
XI. Is Entire Sanctification Attainable in this Life?
XII. How May We Attain unto the Blessing of Perfect Love?

Editor Bucks of the Messenger was publishing quite a few editorials and articles each year on various phases of the subject of Christian perfection. This was one special characteristic emphasis of his

editorial work from 1907–1919. A. W. Orwig and Bishop Bowman were the other men who most frequently wrote articles on this subject.—C. Hauser succeeded J. H. Lamb, as publisher, in 1909, and in 1922 is still efficiently serving in that office.

At the General Conference held in Cleveland, O., Oct. 5-23, 1911, the four bishops were re-elected, as also Heinmiller, editor of the Botschafter and Bucks, editor of the Messenger. This conference had the outline of the course of study for junior preachers bound in the discipline. By this time the course of study required, in the fourth year, a written sermon on "Christian Perfection" to be examined on doctrine, rhetoric, and homiletics.

In 1913, Prof. S. J. Gamertsfelder, Ph.D., Pres. of Evangelical Theological Seminary at Naperville, Ill., published his "Systematic Theology." It has become the official and standard systematic theology of the Evangelical Association. In Part V. Soteriology: The Doctrine of Personal Salvation, subdivisions VI and VII, Pres. Gamertsfelder treats the doctrines of Sanctification and Entire Sanctification, (pp. 492-518). His exposition harmonizes well with the long established teaching of the Evangelical Association on these doctrines.

Oct. 7-25, 1915, the General Conference was held in Los Angeles, Calif. Bishop Bowman in his address (Gen. Conf. Jour., 1915, pp. 5-6) said in part: "The session of 1867 was a memorable one.—A man of great influence [Neitz] had for years systematically labored to change the doctrinal basis of the Evangeli-

cal Association.—However, the General Conference of 1867 reiterated the doctrine of our Discipline as the biblical doctrine of the Church and stood firm as a rock, and we remained Evangelical instead of becoming Lutherans.—Are we still standing true to our Evangelical Doctrine? In theory, I believe, we are still preaching Evangelical biblical doctrine. I fear however, that in practice we might be more thorough."

The episcopal message (p. 26) describes the spiritual state of the Evangelical Association as: "Undisturbed by doctrinal controversies and comparatively unaffected by the vagaries of perverted beliefs.—Deliverance from sin by the cleansing power of the Blood is the theme of her testimony."

Among the resolutions affecting the course of study for junior preachers we find (p. 219): "The Board of Bishops shall formulate a uniform, oral, doctrinal test, which shall be applied to all candidates for deacon's orders."

Bishop Bowman, after 40 years of service as an active bishop, and Bishop Horn after 24 years of that service, asked to be placed upon the list of superannuated bishops. S. C. Breyfogel, S. P. Spreng, G. Heinmiller, and L. H. Seager were elected bishops. T. C. Meckel succeeded Heinmiller as editor of the Botschafter.

On Apr. 27, 1917, at Cleveland, O., Bishop Wm Horn entered into rest See (1919 Gen. Conf Jour. pp. 318-9) and the church papers of May 1917 for records of his life and work. He was ever a true preacher of the doctrine of holiness.

On July 17, 1917, in Cleveland, in a conversation, Bishop Heinmiller remarked: "Our church view of entire sanctification emphasizes eradication, of sinful tendencies and desires, in contradistinction to the Keswick movement in England, which emphasizes suppression. Entire sanctification from all sin is the negative term, Christian perfection is the positive term for describing this higher experience and state of grace. A cleansing and a growing are two processes that go on parallel with each other in sanctification."—The same day editors W. H. Bucks of the Messenger, T. C. Meckel of the Botschafter, H. A. Kramer of the Herald and C. Staebler of the Magazin said in substance that their views on Christian perfection coincided with the church's view set forth in the discipline.

On Aug. 11, 1917 Bishop S. P. Spreng preached, at a campmeeting at Naperville, Ill., a sermon on entire sanctification or holiness. His text was, "Be ye holy." Some notes taken down as the bishop preached: "Holiness is the supreme law and love is the supreme motive of the Christian life.—God's holiness is the standard. Holiness is attained by Divine and human co-operation.—We will always be subject to human limitations but that does not affect the ethical quality of our lives nor our harmony with God.—God, in the salvation of a soul, works in a process of gradual evolution, usually.—We can be saved from all sinful affections and desires. We can experience that fact just as truly as we do conversion.—Conversion is the beginning of the process

of salvation, entire sanctification is the goal. After we have attained to holiness of character, we can still grow in grace and power. God's call "Be ye holy even as I am holy" is a divine challenge for us to co-operate with Him."

Notice in this sermon the place allowed for human co-operation in the process of sanctification. That element was too often neglected by many of the old holiness preachers.

In 1918 was published a new gospel song-book, entitled "Gospel Melodies." Songs Nos. 206-26 are in the sections headed "Holy Desire" and "Consecration." Such words and phrases as,—sanctified, purified, holy, free from the defilement of every known sin, sanctify wholly, full salvation, etc., occur quite frequently in these songs.

On Oct. 2-17, 1919, General Conference convened at Cedar Falls, Iowa. The bishops were re-elected. E. G. Frye succeeded W. H. Bucks as editor of the Messenger. W. C. Hallwachs succeeded H. A. Kramer as editor of the young people's and Sunday School literature. The episcopal message (1919 Gen. Conf. Jour. p. 73) in regard to the approaching re-union of the Evangelical Association and the United Evangelical Church says in part: "Divergencies of polity have already been adjusted.—Of the essential unity of our Churches in faith and life there is no doubt."

An article entitled "Holiness," written by Bishop Thos. Bowman, published Mar. 3, 1920, in the Messenger, still has the old time Evangelical ring to it.

Jan. 23, 1922, my father, Rev. John G. Schwab, for many years a preacher or presiding elder and general conference representative of the Nebraska, Platte River and Illinois Conferences of the Evangelical Association, well informed on denominational affairs in the middle western states, anxious lest I overemphasize the subsidence of preaching on entire sanctification and Christian perfection in this entire period, wrote me as follows:

> "The late Platte River Conference was strong on preaching the doctrine of entire sanctification. It was in the foreground at our revivals and campmeetings during the '90's. There was a time when every preacher in the conference professed the experience. Rev. and Mrs. J. P. Ash were very positive on it in their preaching. Rev. M. L. Custer preached sanctification on every occasion. I myself preached definitely on the doctrine scores of times while on the Platte River District, and on the rounds of three districts in the Illinois Conference. I preached on the doctrine at the Naperville and Freeport district campmeetings, besides being called upon for bible readings upon the subject.
>
> "Your own mother [May E. Kendall Schwab] entered into the experience at a tent meeting in Jewell County, Kansas, Sept. 11, 1892, after a most remarkable soul struggle, and she lived in the conscious experience until her lamented death in 1897. Many of our preachers in the Kansas Conference have been, for decades, very zealous

in the preaching of the doctrine. There Rev. J. H. Tobias, like a living flame, blazed the way for preachers and people and set that conference along the ways of holiness.

"In the Illinois Conference, H. C. Powell, W. A. Shultz, F. Theiss and others live, think, preach and exhort it frequently, and they are not alone. I could name a dozen men in Iowa. There are many in the Indiana, Michigan, Wisconsin and Minnesota Conferences zealous for it. Our people at Alexandria, Ind. have maintained holiness campmeetings in August for many years."

Now, in the spring of 1922, the ministers and laymen of the Evangelical Association and of the United Evangelical Association and of the United Evangelical Church, in their annual conference sessions, are voting favorably, by overwhelming majorities, on the basis of organic church union and on the discipline proposed as official for the re-united church which will be known as The Evangelical Church. It is confidently expected that the union will be officially effected when the two general conferences meet this fall or in 1923.

In the proposed discipline for The Evangelical Church there is no Article of Faith on Christian perfection as it once was thought there would be. But, what once was 'Article of Faith XI, Of Sanctification,' in the United Evangelical Church discipline, now appears as '¶25,' the third of three paragraphs which head Chapter II, the official doctrinal

chapter of the proposed discipline, which chapter is placed immediately after the Articles of Faith. The three paragraphs heading Chapter II deal with the following subjects briefly: ¶23 Regeneration, ¶24 The Witness of the Spirit, ¶25 Entire Sanctification or Christian Perfection. The body of the proposed Chapter II is word for word what was in the discipline of the Evangelical Association as Chapter II. For the three paragraphs heading Chapter II in the proposed discipline of The Evangelical Church see Appendix X.

Thus, without ado, the church, founded by Jacob Albright in 1800, recognizes in 1922, as one of its accepted doctrines, the doctrine of entire sanctification or Christian perfection.

I believe we have found in the Evangelical Association, as well as in the United Evangelical Church, for this last period, a general acceptance of the official doctrine of Christian perfection. There are but few articles on this doctrine appearing in the church papers, because the old Wesleyan doctrine holds the field without a contending rival. The extreme emphases which once created and maintained controversy have been abandoned. The old differing leaders are practically all gone, and the younger generation of Evangelicals prefers the practical middle-ground where for all there is peace with honor.

The history which we have traced constitutes a complete cycle. Unity, gradually developing into

overstatement, brings on reaction and controversy. Controversy, gradually becoming less severe, as each party learns from the other, finally reaches the middle-ground of rest and unity.—Another way to sum up is to say that it took until 1871 for the official Wesleyan doctrine of Christian perfection, backed by the authoritative use of ecclesiastical organization and the discipline, to finally conquer the German heritage of the church on this doctrine. And since 1871, although firmly established, the doctrine of Christian perfection has gradually fallen into desuetude.

SUMMARY OF FINDINGS

In summing up this history of the doctrine of Christian perfection in the Evangelical Association, let us note the following points:

1. Jacob Albright, the founder of the Evangelical Association, while a member of the Methodist Episcopal Church, became thoroughly indoctrinated in the Wesleyan view of entire sanctification and Christian perfection.

2. When he and his ministerial followers professed entire sanctification and frequently preached it to the people of the old German churches in Pennsylvania, a clash over the doctrine always resulted; for the Wesleyan and the German systems of theology treated this subject quite differently.

3. In 1809 the Wesleyan doctrine, both in form of statement and in content, was taken over directly, from Boehm's 1808 German version of the Methodist Episcopal Discipline, into the first discipline of the Evangelical Association. Once adopted it has remained to the present (1922), unaltered in form or content, as the official doctrine of the Evangelical Association.

4. The history of the doctrine in the Evangelical Association has been one of the steady, purposeful elimination of those who publicly expressed views akin to the original German, doctrinal heritage of the people of the church. Notable cases were those of Hamilton, Hunter, and Brewer, in 1831-3,

Nicholas Gehr in 1848-9, and T. G. Clewell in 1870-1. Two others, who were brought to trial and forced into public disavowal of their views in order to remain in the church, were Solomon Neitz in 1858-69 and D. B. Byers in 1868-9.

5. The National Holiness Movement, that began in 1867 and exerted great influence throughout the United States for many years, stressed the necessity of entire sanctification and the characteristically Wesleyan emphasis upon the present attaining of that grace by faith so prominently and so continuously that this movement proved to be the decisive factor in giving the official Wesleyan party in the Evangelical Association and their doctrine the final victory over the minority old German party and their view.

6. By 1871 the Wesleyan view had so far triumphed that since then no one has cared to risk his position in the church by opposing it; hence discussion of and interest in the doctrine have steadily fallen off. Today one finds very little in the church papers about it and seldom hears it professed or preached.

7. Fairly keen and continuous controversy over the doctrine of Christian perfection between 1857 and 1871 had developed personal enmities and factional divisions to such an extent that, although the struggle over that doctrine was ended, yet the leaders and their parties found new issues concerning the sources and application of ecclesiastical authority and persisted in their strife until, by 1894, the church was split into two.

8. In that year the United Evangelical Church adopted in its discipline, a chapter on Christian perfection just as purely Wesleyan as the one in the discipline of the Evangelical Association. It went even a step farther and adopted an article of faith, "Of Sanctification." This article of faith, along with the rest, was made unalterable. In that way this Wesleyan doctrine was fastened more firmly upon the United Evangelical Church than it had ever been fastened upon the Evangelical Association.

9. In 1922 the proposed discipline for the reunited church, The Evangelical Church, does not put the doctrine of Christian perfection into the form or place of an Article of Faith, but purposely puts it, where it has always stood, into the special doctrinal chapter immediately following the Articles of Faith.

Thus, the spiritual sons of Jacob Albright, after many years of doctrinal and ecclesiastical differences among themselves, have come once more to live together in unity of faith and order.

The doctrine of Christian perfection, formerly a cause of misunderstanding and division, has now become a bond of agreement and union; the rock of stumbling and offense has now become one of the chief corner stones, peacefully accorded its place of honor, in the doctrinal structure of The Evangelical Church.

Finis.

"Labor omnia vincit!"

APPENDICES

Five Forms of the Doctrinal Article on Christian Perfection. The Form in Which the Article Appeared in:

I. The Methodist Episcopal English Discipline of 1804, pp. 58-59

CHAPTER III

Section I

Of Christian Perfection

"Let us strongly and explicitly exhort all believers to go on to perfection. That we may all speak the same thing, we ask once for all, shall we defend this perfection, or give it up? We all agree to defend it, meaning thereby (as we did from the beginning) salvation from all sin, properly so called, by the love of God and man filling our heart. Some say [Papists]* "This cannot be attained till we have been refined by the fire of purgatory." Others [Calvinists] "Nay, it will be attained as soon as the soul and body part." But others [Old Methodists] say, "It may be attained before we die: A moment after is too late." Is it so or not? We are all agreed, we may be saved from all sin before death, i.e. from all sinful tempers and desires. The substance then is settled. But as to the circumstances, is the change gradual or instantaneous? It is both the one and the other. "But should we in preaching

insist both on one and the other?" Certainly we should insist on the gradual change; and that earnestly and continually. And are there not reasons why we should insist on the instantaneous change? If there be such a blessed change before death, should we not encourage all believers to expect it? And the rather, because constant experience shows, the more earnestly they expect this, the more swiftly and steadily does the gradual work of God go on in their souls; the more careful are they to grow in grace; the more zealous of good works, and the more punctual in their attendance on all the ordinances of God: (Whereas just the contrary effects are observed, whenever this expectation ceases.) They are saved by hope, by this hope of a total change, with a gradually increasing salvation. Destroy this hope, and that salvation stands still, or rather decreases daily. Therefore whoever would advance the gradual change in believers, should strongly insist on the instantaneous."

*Note: The words in [ ]'s are found in the Methodist Discipline of 1784.

II. Boehm's 1808 German Translation and Enlargement of the Methodist Episcopal English Discipline of 1804

Drittes Kapitel

Abschnitt I

Von der Christlichen Vollkommenheit

Der Herr Jesus spricht ausdruecklich, Matth. 5:48. "Darum sollt ihr vollkommen sein, gleichwie euer Vater im Himmel vollkommen ist." Und der Apostel ermahnet ausdruecklich, I. Thess. 5: 16, 17, 18. "Seid allezeit froehlich; betet ohne Unterlass; seid dankbar in allen Dingen—denn das ist der Wille Gottes in Christo Jesu."

Wer dieser Ermahnung unverkuerzt und allezeit nachkommt, dessen Wille muss wohl gaenzlich dem Willen Gottes unterworfen, folglich aller Eigenwille und Eigensinn in den Tod gebracht sein; er muss alles, was ihm begegnet, als von der Hande Gottes annehmen, denn sonst koennte er nicht selbst das Widerwaertige, nicht allein mit Ergebenheit und Unterwerfung, sondern sogar mit Dank annehmen; er muss so auf seiner Hut fest und unbeweglich stehen, dass er einige Versuchung der [den]* Augenblick, wie sie ihm aufstosset, [aufstoesset] von sich weiset, und ueberwindet, und nicht derselben mehr oder weniger freiwillig oder nachlaessig nachgiebt, wie es bei schwachen Christen zu geschehen pflegt. Wird seine Ruhe, Friede und Freude in Gott durch

keine dergleichen oder was immer fuer Ereignisse mehr gestoeret, so muss er wirklich tief in Gott gegruendet sein, und in Wahrheit Gott von ganzem Herzem, von ganzer Seele, und aus allen Kraeften lieben. Die Suende hat sozusagen, ihre Macht gegen eine solche Seele verloren; die so von der Liebe Gottes, wie von einer feurigen Mauer umzaeunet ist. Fleisch, Welt und Hoelle sind unter ihre Fuesse getreten, und sie herrschet in Christo ueber ihre Feinde; doch in Wachsamkeit und nicht schlafend.

Dies ist der Stand, den die methodistische Kirche [diese vereinigte Kirche] durch die Christliche Vollkommenheit verstehet.

Dass ein solcher Stand, und zwar noch in diesem Leben erreichbar sei, ist ja klar genug, weil Christus und seine Apostel hiezu ermahnen. Ja wir lernen hieraus, dass es eines jeglichen Christen eigene und gemessene Pflicht ist, hiernach zu streben; denn Christus und der Apostel ermahnen hiezu alle ohne Ausnahme, und nicht blos ein und andere. Wie sollte der wohl ein Christ sein koennen, der nicht verlangte sich Gott in allem aufs vollkommenste zu unterwerfen, und ihn in Wahrheit von ganzem Herzen, von ganzer Seele, und aus allen Kraeften zu lieben?

Aus Erfahrung ist man gaenzlich ueberzeugt worden, dass solch ein Stand wirklich erreichbar ist, und von mancher Seele erreichet, und fuer manche Jahre bis zu ihrem Lebensende [Lebens-Ende] darinnen seliglich verharret worden.

Von manchen andern wurde er erreicht, und durch Mangel an Wachsamkeit, auch wieder verloren. Auch von diesem ist man durch manche traurige Erfahrung ueberzeugt worden.

So wie man auch dagegen wieder durch Erfahrung gelernt hat, dass dieser selige Stand, wenn er auch so durch Vernachlaessigung verloren worden, doch wieder durch Gottes Gnade auf ein neues erreichet werden, und man doch noch endlich nachdem man gleichwohl das schwankende Rohr war, zur festen und unbeweglichen Saeule im Tempel Gottes werden koenne.

Bei manchen andern ist dies Werk nie so zur rechten, vollen Deutlichkeit gekommen. Ein grosser Grad eines Gnadenstandes war wohl sichtbar; doch verriethen sich nebenher auch Schwachheiten, von denen andere Menschen, als die nur das aeusserliche sehen, nicht urtheilen konnten, ob es ledigliche, oder aber geringere willkuehrliche Abweichungen und Ueberwaeltigungen von der Suende waren.

Die Erfahrung hat ueber das gelehrt, dass man zu diesem Stand der christlichen Vollkommenheit durch treuen Wandel, und Nachfolge des Lammes heran zu wachsen pflege, jedoch unter diesem Anwachs frueher oder spaeter dieses Werk durch eine ploetzliche Ueberschattung und maechtigen Gnadeneinfluss [Gnaden-Einfluss] des goettlichen Geistes in der Seele vollbracht werde. Die [Die, die] wirklich eigene Erfahrung hievon [davon] haben, beschreiben diese Ueberstroemung des goettlichen Lebens ungefaehr [ohngefaehr] als der Rechtfertigungsgnade

[Rechtfertigungs-Gnade] aehnlich, doch solche weit uebertreffend—Diese Gnade wird somit die Heiligung genannt.

Diese Heiligung liegt [lieget] der christlichen Vollkommenheit zum Grunde. Dadurch schreibet Gott das Gesetz seiner Liebe in lebendiger Kraft in das Herz ein, nach seiner teuren und wahren Verheissung.

Dem unerachtet [ohnerachtet] weil alles Erschaffene immer endlich und eingeschraenkt bleibt, und seiner Wesenheit nach, immer unendlich geringer ist, als Gott selbsten, so bleibt [bleibet] auch der vollkommenste Mensch oder Engel noch immer unendlich unter Gott stehen, obwohl er schon durch die Rechtfertigung eines goettlichen Saamens theilhaftig, und durch die Heiligung noch viel mehr dem goettlichen Wesen selbst veraehnlichet wird. Eben darum kan [kann] er auch noch, nachdem er diese Stufe der Heiligung erreichet [erreicht] hat, noch immer mehr und mehr in der Gnade wachsen und zunehmen; und von Klarheit zu Klarheit fortschreiten Und wo dieses Fortschreiten zum Stillstand moechte gebracht werden, ist gar nichts [nicht] abzusehen; so dass man vielmehr einen immer und in alle Ewigkeit zunehmenden Wachsthum vermuthen kan [kann]. Mit allem dem bleibt der seligste Geist noch immer unendlich geringer als Gott selbst.

Das Zweite, was hier noch weiter zu bemerken ist, ist dieses, das diese Heiligungsgnade [Heiligungs-Gnade] darum die natuerlichen Schwachheiten des Menschen nicht hinweg nehme [hinwegnehme],

ja nicht einmal zu-decke [zudecke], ja zuweilen noch mehr offenbar mache, und blos stelle. Solche sind: ein kraenklicher Leib; Verstandesschwaeche, Schwaeche des Gedaechtnisses, der Urtheilskraft, der Sinne; darum auch eine solche Seele durch falschen Schein getaeuscht werden kan [kann], besser von einem Menschen denken kan [kann], als er ist, oder auch in ihrem irrgeleiteten [irregeleiteten] Urtheil tiefer herunter setzen in ihrer Achtung als er es verdient; in ihren Ausdruecken, Undeutlichkeit, ja wohl Verwirrung sein; unschicklichen Rath geben; und durch allerlei solche Bloedigkeiten, die aber doch nicht vor Gott als freiwillige Suenden darliegen, vor der klugen Welt sich laecherlich machen. Daher [Dahero] kan [kann] und soll sie auch von andern Menschen, die in der Gnade weit unter ihr stehen moegen, guten Rath, und Weisung und Unterricht annehmen, soweit sie erkennen kan [kann], dass ihr Gott in diesem Wege Weisung zukommen laesst.

So viel hat noethig geschienen hier beigefuegt zu werden, um allem Misverstand der Sache zuvor zu kommen, und den Leser in den Stand zu setzen, diese Lehre in deutlichem Licht zu sehen, und so hievon eine richtige Vorstellung zu fassen.

Hierueber erklaert sich denn die methodistische Kirche [dann diese vereinigte Kirche] weiter:

Lasst uns alle Glaeubige ernstlich und ausdruecklich dahin ermahnen, dass sie nach der christlichen Vollkommenheit ernstlich streben sollen. Damit wir einerlei hierueber lehren moegen, so lasst uns ein

fuer allemal es entscheiden, ob wir diese Lehre fortfuehren, oder aufgeben sollen? Wir sind alle einmuethig gesinnt diese Lehre zu behaupten und fortzufuehren, indem wir so wie je und allezeit durch die christliche Vollkommenheit nichts anders verstehen, als die voellige Erloesung von aller Suende im eigentlichsten Verstande des Worts, vermittelst der liebe Gottes und der Menschen in dem Herzen ausgegossen und das Herz erfuellend bewirket. Einige sagen wohl, "Dies kan nicht erreicht werden, bis wir durch das Fegfeuer gegangen." Andere sprechen, "Nein, das wird erfuellet in dem Augenblick wenn [wann] Seele und Leib von einander scheiden." Aber andere sagen, "Wir koennen dies erreichen, ehe es zum sterben koemmt. Eine Minute darnach ist es zu spaet." Wir sind darinnen einstimmig, dass wir alle gaenzlich von aller Suende erloeset werden koennen, lange ehe wir sterben—versteht sich von allen boesen Anmuthungen und Begierden. So bleibt die Hauptsache festgesetzt.

Die Umstaende der Sache betreffend fragt [fraegt] es sich denn weiter: Wird diese selige Veraenderung nach und nach bewirket, oder gehet sie ploetzlich in einem Augenblick vor? Beides geschiehet, sowohl das eine als das andere. "Sollen wir aber in unsern Predigten auf das eine sowohl als das andere dringen?" Ganz gewiss muessen wir auf die stufenweise Veraenderung dringen, und das ernstlich und bestaendig. Und haben wir nicht eben sowohl guten Grund auf die ploetzliche vor dem Gnadenstrom in einem Augenblick zu bewirkende

Veraenderung zu dringen? Laesst sich je eine solche selige Veraenderung erwarten, solten wir nicht alle Glaeubige ernstlich ermahnen solche zu suchen? Und das um so viel mehr, weil je ernstlicher dieses ploetzliche Gnadenwerk gesucht, je mehr darnach gesehnt wird, desto schneller und standhafter gehet der stufenweise Wachsthum der Seele in der Gnade voran—desto mehr machen sie sich solchen Wachsthum zu ihrer Angelegenheit—desto emsiger sind sie zu allen guten Werken—desto puenktlicher in dem Gebrauch aller goettlichen Verordnungen; da andererseits just das Gegentheil von allem diesem wahrgenommen wird bei allen denen, die nicht in einer solchen Erwartung stehen. Sie sind selig in der Hofnung, und werden es durch diese Hofnung und Erwartung einer gaenzlichen Veraenderung; unter einem stufenweisen Wachsen in der Gnade. Wo diese Hofnung wegfaellt, da geraeth das Gnadenwerk ins stocken, wenn es nicht gar zusehends abnimmt. Wenn es je daher daran gelegen ist, den stufenweisen Wachsthum in der Gnade zu befoerdern, sollte die Glaeubigen zur Hofnung eines solchen ploetzlichen Gnadeneinflusses [Gnaden-Einflusses] ermuntern [ermunteren].

Note: Miller copied this almost word for word, letter for letter, into the 1809 discipline for the Albrechts Leute. There is a rare and occasional difference in spelling, capitalization, punctuation, mood, prefix, or word order. It is the same article.

*The words in [ ]'s are Miller's variations of Boehm.

III. Miller's 1809 German Discipline for the Albrights

6 ste Anweisung.

Wie wir zur wahren Herzens-Heiligkeit schon hier in diesem Leben gelangen koennen.

Von der christlichen Vollkommenheit.

Der Herr Jesus spricht ausdruecklich, Matth. 5:48. "Darum sollt ihr———etc.

NOTE: It continues the same as Boehm's, except that you read the minor changes given inside of the [ ]'s.

IV. The Evangelical Association English Discipline of 1832

Section VI Pp. 69-76.

Concerning the Doctrine of Christian Perfection. How We May Attain to True Holiness of Heart Even in This Life

The Lord Jesus expressly saith, Matt. V, 48. 'Be ye therefore perfect, even as your Father who is in heaven is perfect.' And the Apostle expressly exhorts, I Thess. V, 16, 17, 18. 'Rejoice evermore; pray without ceasing; in every thing give thanks; for this is the will of God in Christ Jesus concerning you.'

He that would fully comply with these exhortations at all times, must have a whole and perfect resignation to the will of God; consequently all self-will and selfishness must be perfectly subdued: he must bear up with everything that may befall him, as from the hand of the Lord; or he cannot meet every adversity with acquiescence and resignation, much less with gratitude; he must thus stand upon his guard, firm and immoveable, that he may, at any moment, parry and gain the victory over any temptation that may present itself, without yielding more or less, either voluntarily or negligently, as it does sometimes happen with weak Christians. If his rest, or peace and joy in God, be no more interrupted by none of the like vicissitudes, or occurrences

he must be well founded in God; and of a truth he must love God with all his heart, with all his mind and with all his strength: sin, so to speak, has lost all its power against such an one, being so surrounded by the love of God, as with a wall of fire. The flesh, the world and Satan are under his feet, and he rules over his enemies; yet with watching, and not slumbering.

This is the state which this Evangelical Association understands by Christian Perfection.

That such a state is attainable even in this life, is very evident, because Christ and his Apostles exhort thereto: yea, from this we learn that it is every Christian's bounden duty to strive thereafter, for Christ and his Apostles exhort all thereto without exception or distinction. And how could he be a Christian, who would not desire to submit wholly unto God, and to love him in truth, with all his heart, with all his soul, and with all his strength?

By experience we have been fully persuaded, that such a state is attainable, and is attained by many, who happily persevere therein for many years, even to the end of their days, many others had attained it, and for want of watchfulness, have lost it again. This we have learned by sad experience. Experience has also taught, that this blessed state, after it had been lost thru negligence, may again be attained by the grace of God; and that a person may finally, tho having been as a reed shaken by the wind, become a firm and immovable pillar in the Temple of God.

With many others this work has never come to that perfect clearness; a great degree of grace has indeed been discovered, yet, collateral infirmities were at the same time discernible, which could not be properly distinguished by those who look upon externals only, whether these were only involuntary natural infirmities, or slighter voluntary deviations and overcomings of sin.

Experience has moreover taught that, ordinarily, this state of Christian perfection is attained gradually, by an upright course of life in following the Lamb; however, under this graduation, this work is perfected in the soul, sooner or later, by a sudden and powerful influence of grace and outpouring of the Divine Spirit. Those who have actually experienced this, describe this effusion of the divine life as being similar to the grace of justification, yet far exceeding the same. This grace is thus called Sanctification.

This sanctification is the basis of Christian perfection; by which God writes his law of love with quickening power in the heart, according to his precious and faithful promise.

Notwithstanding this, because all created beings will ever be finite and circumscribed, and according to the nature thereof, are at all times and forever less than God himself: thus will also the most perfect man or angel forever be inferior to God, tho he become a partaker of the divine seed thru justification and thru sanctification is much more assimilated to the divine Being; therefore, he can, after having attained to this degree of sanctification, grow and

increase more and more in grace, and proceed from one degree of glory to another.

And should even this progression be brought to a state of cessation with some, it is not to be inferred from hence, that an eternal and everlasting increase should therefore be impossible with others. Nevertheless, the happiest spirit will still be far inferior to God himself.

Secondly, what is further to be considered here, is this, that sanctifying grace does therefore not take away the natural infirmities of man; yea, it does not even cover them, yea but, on the other hand, it sometimes manifests and exposes them the more. Such are, a weakly and morbid body, a weakly understanding, weakness of memory, of judgment and of the mind. Therefore such an individual may be easily imposed upon by false appearances, and thru a misdirected judgment, to think more esteemingly or derogatively of a person than he really deserved—indistinctness, yea, confusion in expression—give unfit advice; and thru all kinds of such weaknesses, which God never beholds or imputes as willful sins, may render himself exceptionable and ridiculous before a wise world. Therefore, such an one should never refuse to receive instruction and good counsel of others, who do not possess the same degree of grace with him, in as much as he sees that God deigns to instruct him in this way.

Thus much was deemed necessary to be added here to prevent a misunderstanding of the matter, and to enable the reader to see this doctrine in a clear light, and to form just conceptions thereof.

Whereupon this Evangelical Association further declares:

Let us seriously and explicitly admonish all believers, to strive ardently for Christian perfection. In order that we may teach one thing on this point, let us decide once for all, whether we shall continue, or give up this doctrine. We are all unanimous to defend and maintain it: understanding by it now, as at all times before, nothing less than a total emancipation from every sin, in the proper sense of the word, by means of the love of God being shed abroad in our heart, influencing and actuating the same.

Some indeed say: "This cannot be attained, till we have passed thru purgatory." Others say: "No, this is accomplished at the moment when body and soul are separated." But others say: "We can attain this before we die, one minute afterward is too late." We are unanimous that we may be redeemed from every sin long before we die—that is, of all evil affections and desires. Thus the main point remains settled.

Touching the circumstances of the matter, the further inquiry is: Is this happy change gradually wrought, or instantaneously? Both take place, one as well as the other. Shall we insist upon one as well as the other, in our preaching? We must certainly insist upon a gradual change, and this zealously and continually. And have we not equally good reasons to insist upon an instantaneous change, wrought by the effusion of grace in an instant? May we expect such a blessed change, shall we not

earnestly exhort all believers to seek it? And the more so, because, the more earnestly this instantaneous work of grace is sought, the more it is longed after, the quicker and the more steadfast will the gradual work of grace in the soul progress. The more they are concerned about such a change, the more punctual will they be in observing the divine ordinances: whereas on the other hand, the contrary is to be observed with all those, who are not expecting those things. They are blessed in hope, and become so thru this hope and expectation of a total change, by gradually growing in grace. Where this hope falls away, the work of grace is retarded, if it does not apparently decrease. Therefore, whoever is concerned to promote the gradual growth in grace, should encourage believers in the hope of such an immediate influence of grace.

V. The United Evangelical Church English Discipline of 1894

ARTICLES OF FAITH p. 19.

XI. OF SANCTIFICATION

Entire sanctification, or Christian perfection, is a state of righteousness and true holiness, which every regenerate believer may attain. It consists in being cleansed from all sin, loving God with all the heart, soul, mind, and strength, and loving our neighbor as ourselves. This gracious state of perfect love is attainable in this life by faith, both gradually and instantaneously, and should be earnestly sought by every child of God. But it does not deliver us from the infirmities, ignorance and mistakes which are common to man.

CHAPTER II

pp. 24-28.

CHRISTIAN PERFECTION

We believe the doctrine of Christian Perfection to be clearly taught in the Word of God. For this reason it is accepted as one of the cherished doctrines of the United Evangelical Church. God said to Abram, as recorded in Genesis 17:1: "I am the Almighty God; walk before me, and be thou perfect." Our Lord and Saviour expressly said to his disciples, as recorded in Matt. 5:48: "Be ye there-

fore perfect, even as your Father which is in heaven is perfect." Furthermore, to effect this great end was plainly one of the leading purposes of God in instituting the church and calling laborers into his vineyard. Hear Paul to the Ephesians, chapter 4, and verses 11, 12 and 13: "And he gave some, apostles; and some, prophets; and some, evangelists; and some, pastors and teachers; for the perfecting of the saints, for the work of the ministry, for the edifying of the body of Christ; till we all come in the unity of the faith, and of the knowledge of the Son of God, unto a perfect man, unto the measure of the stature of the fullness of Christ." Paul further taught with much emphasis, that the best way to attain to this high standard, was to preach the sinless Christ as our pattern of perfection. See Colossians 1:28: "Whom we preach, warning every man, and teaching every man in all wisdom; that we may present every man perfect in Christ Jesus."

As to the character of this work of grace, the time attainable, and its effect upon its possessor, that most excellent summary of statement given by John Wesley in the year 1784, fully meets our views. This was after the thought and experience of Mr. Wesley had attained their full ripeness, for he was then within but a few years of the close of his life. He had given much thought to this doctrine, and finally, after a careful review of the whole subject, wrote the sum of what he had observed in a number of brief propositions, to which we as a body of Christians most heartily subscribe. These propositions are as follows:

"1. There is such a thing as perfection; for it is again and again mentioned in the Scriptures.

"2. It is not so early as justification; for justified persons are to go on unto perfection. Heb. 6:1.

"3. It is not so late as death; for Saint Paul speaks of living men that were perfect. Phil. 3:15.

"4. It is not absolute. Absolute perfection belongs not to man, nor to angels, but to God alone.

"5. It does not make a man infallible; no one is infallible while he remains in the body.

"6. Is it sinless? It is not worth while to contend for a term. 'It is salvation from sin.'

"7. It is 'perfect love.' I John 4:18. This is the essence of it. Its properties, or inseparable fruits, are, rejoicing evermore, praying without ceasing, and in every thing giving thanks. I Thess. 5:16, etc.

"8. It is improvable. It is so far from being incapable of increase, that one perfected in love may grow in grace far swifter than he did before.

"9. It is losable, capable of being lost; of which we have numerous instances.

"10. It is constantly both preceded and followed by a gradual work.

"11. But is it in itself instantaneous or not? In examining this let us go on step by step. An instantaneous change has been wrought in some believers; no one can deny this. Since that

change, they enjoy perfect love; they feel this and this alone; they 'rejoice evermore, pray without ceasing, and in every thing give thanks.' But in some this change was not instantaneous. They did not perceive the instant when it was wrought. It is often difficult to perceive the instant when a man dies; yet there is an instant when life ceases. And if ever sin ceases, there must be a last moment of its existence, and a first moment of our deliverance from it.

" 'But if they have this love now they will lose it.' They may; but they need not. And whether they do or not, they have it now; they now experience what we teach. They now are all love; they now rejoice, pray and praise without ceasing.

" 'However sin is only suspended in them; it is not destroyed.' Call it which you please; they are all love today; and they take no thought for the morrow.

" 'But this doctrine has been much abused.' So has that of justification by faith. But that is no reason for giving up either this or any other Scriptural doctrine.

" 'But those who think they are saved from sin say they have no need of the merits of Christ.' They say just the contrary. Their language is: 'Every moment, Lord, I need the merit of thy death.' They never before had so deep, so unspeakable a conviction of the need of Christ in all his offices as they have now.

"Therefore all our preachers should make a point of preaching perfection to believers constantly, strongly and explicitly; and all believers should mind this one thing, and continually agonize for it.

"This is the doctrine of Jesus Christ, the doctrine of St. Paul, of St. Peter, of St. James, and of St. John. It is found in the oracles of God, in the Old and New Testaments. Look at it; survey it on every side, and that with the closest attention. In one view it is purity of intentions, dedicating all the life to God. It is the giving to God of all our heart; it is one desire and design ruling all our tempers. It is the devoting of, not a part, but of all our soul, body and substance to God. In another view, it is all the mind which was in Christ, enabling us to walk as Christ walked. It is the cleansing of the heart from all filthiness, all inward as well as outward pollution. It is a renewal of the heart in the whole image of God; the full likeness of him that created it. In yet another view it is the loving of God with all the heart, and our neighbor as ourselves. Now, take it in whichever of these views you please, for there is no material difference, and this is the whole and sole perfection.

Now let this perfection appear in its native form, and who can speak one word against it? Will any dare to speak against loving the Lord our God with all our heart, and our neighbor as

ourselves? It must be disguised before it can be opposed. Does not all that is within you cry out, "O, who that loves can love enough?" We allow, we contend, that we are justified freely through the righteousness and the blood of Christ. We expect likewise to be sanctified wholly through his Spirit. We do not expect to love God with all our heart, and our neighbor as ourselves. Yea, we do believe that he will in this world so "cleanse the thoughts of our hearts, by the inspiration of his Holy Spirit, that we shall perfectly love him, and worthily magnify his holy name."

Let it therefore be considered not only a privilege, but the duty of all true believers to strive earnestly to attain to Christian perfection, and in so far as they have ability and opportunity, to encourage all others to "press toward the mark for the prize of the high calling of God in Christ Jesus."

VI. Those Active Before 1857, on Literary Evidence, Found to Accord with the Official View of the Evangelical Association on Christian Perfection.

Name	Entered Ministry	Died	Literary Evidence
Jacob Albright	1796	1808	A. C.) (L. T. A.) (E. A. & Y. H. indices)
John Walter	1802	1818	A. C.) (L. T. A.) (E. A. &. Y. H. indices)
George Miller	1805	1816	A. C.) (L. T. A.) (E. A. &. Y. H. indices)
John Dreisbach	1807	1871	A. C.) (L. T. A.) (E. A. &. Y. H. indices) and (E. M. 1848 p. 18; 1850 p. 25; 1851 p. 12; 1853 p. 98; 1856 pp. 12, 28, 92, 140, 148) (Ep. Feb. 1885) etc.
J. Chris. Spangler	1807	1855	Y. H. II 42) (C. B. 1855 p. 69)
John Erb	1808	1858	Y. H. II 71-73 etc.
Henry Niebel	1809	1877	E. A. &. Y. H. I indices (Y. H. II, 152) (Ep. Nov. 1883) etc.
Leonhart Zimmerman	1811	1840	Y. H. I 123-5
Fred'k. Schauer	1812		Y. H. I, 123-5.
John Kleinfelter	1813	1863	Y. H. II, 152 etc.
John Stambach	1813	1828	Y. H. I, 123-5.
Jacob Kleinfelter	1813	1858	E. L. 42-3.
Thomas Brewer	1814		Y. H. I, 123-5.
Henry Stauffer	1814		Y. H. I, 123-5.
Adam Ettinger	1816	1877	C. B. 1836 p. 87; 1844 p. 20.) (Ep. Nov. 1885.)
Adam Kleinfelter	1817	1878	E. L. 42-3) (Ep. Dec. 1884.)
James Barber	1817	1867	Ep. May 1884
John Breidenstein	1818	1878	Y. H. I, 164) (Ep. June 1885)
John Seybert	1820	1860	(Ep. May 1886 (S. L. S.) (Y. H. II 85-97 etc.)
John W. Miller	1822	1833	C. B. 1843 p. 105.
Joseph Long	1822	1869	Y. L. L.) (Y. H. II, 173-181 etc.)

Name	Entered Ministry	Died	Literary Evidence
P. Wagner	1822	1870	Ep. July 1884.
Thomas Buck	1823	1842	Y. H. I, 348-9) (F. E. H. 120-2) (C. B. 1849 p. 81; 1865 Sept. 8.)
John Hammer	1824	1839	C. B. 1839 p. 95.
Joseph M. Saylor	1825	1891	C. B. 1836 p. 29) (F. E. H. 48-9) (E. A. 99-100) (Y. H. I, 226-8.)
Francis Hoffman	1826	1894	Y. H. II, 18) (F. E. H. 89).
Elias Stoever	1827	1874	Ep. Aug. 1885.
Wm. W. Orwig	1828	1889	(C. B. 1836 p. 5; 1837 p. 29; 1840 pp. 13, 21, 29, 57; 1842 p. 132; 1843 p. 1; 1849 pp. 116, 125, 132, 141, 148, 156, 164; 1851 pp. 20-8) (Ep. Feb. 1886.)
Jacob Schnerr	1829	1849	V. H. 117) (Ep. June 1883.)
John G. Zinser	1829	1883	Ep. Apr. 1885) (C. B. 1836 p. 62) (Y. H. II, 16-7.)
A. B. Schaefer	1830	1869	Ep. Sept. 1883.
Chas. Hammer	1830	1887	V. H. 107-115) (E. M. 1887 p. 24) (Ep. Sept. 1885).
D. Kehr	1830	1871	Ep. Mar. 1884.
Daniel Brickley	1831	1884	C. B. 1836 pp. 61, 74.
John P. Leib	1831	1875	E. M. 1875 Sept. 23) (Y. H. II, 206-7) (Ep. Feb. 1884.)
Henry Fisher	1831	1854	C. B. 1849 pp. 100, 107) (Y. H. II, 39) (E. M. 1849 pp. 67, 71, 74, 82; 1850 pp. 35, 39; 1851 pp. 55, 59; 1852 pp. 33, 84; 1853 pp. 148, 156; etc.)
Chas. Hesser	1831	1843	Ep. July 1883.
Chris. Lintner	1831	1854	Y. H. II, 41.
Jacob Borkert	1831	1880	Ep. Jan. 1884.
Henry Bucks	1832	1895	C. B. 1836 p. 66; 1849 pp. 186-7.
Jacob Boas	1833	1884	Ep. Mar. 1885.
Andrew Yeakel	1833	1837	Y. H. I, 266-7.
Jacob Riegel	1834	1852	C. B. 1836 p. 29.
Henry Stoetzel	1837	1889	C. B. 1848 p. 66) (Y. H. II, 172.)
Fred'k. Krecker	1838	1888	E. M. 1850 p. 17.
Chris. Meyer	1839	1873	C. B. 1873 Mar. 19.
Geo. A. Blank	1841	1861	Ep. June 1884.
George Weirich	1842	1848	E. M. 1848 p. 54.
Chris. Yeakel	1842	1874	Y. H. II, 204-5.
J. C. Farnsworth	1843	1883	E. M. 1884 Jan. 15.

Name	Entered Ministry	Died	Literary Evidence
M. Lauer	1844	1893	V. H. 174.
J. L. W. Seybert	1845		E. M. 1854 p. 68.
J. J. Esher	1845	1901	V. H. 42, 44, 121, 123) (Y. H. II 16-7) (Mag. 1869-71) (E. M. Nov. 8, 1877.) etc.
J. Koehl	1846		C. B. 1855 p. 10) (E. M. 1868 Sept. Oct. Nov.)
J. Dick	1847	1887	E. M. 1852 p. 187; 1870 May 19.
C. G. Koch	1847	1897	C. B. 1854 pp. 52, 72, 180, 188; 1855 pp. 68, 74.
J. G. Wollpert	1847	1903	C. B. 1848 pp. 129, 137.
Isaac Hess	1848		Y. H. II, 18.
M. Zulauf	1848	1870	C. B. 1870 Mar. 2.
F. L. Stoever	1849	1849	C. B. 1849 Oct. 1.
J. Keiper	1849		C. B. 1854 p. 185.
Ella M. Y. Preyer			E. M. 1849 p. 35.
C. A. Schnake	1849	1876	Ep. Dec. 1883.
L. May	1850	1865	C. B. 1850 p. 132.
Jacob Schaefle	1850	1888	E. M. 1888.
A. J. Bender	1851		E. M. 1853 p. 107.
S. G. Rhoads	1851	1876	"The Old Way" book by Rhoads. V. H. 93) (Ep. Oct. 1883) (E. M. Jan. 20, 1876.)
J. Yeakel	1853		C. B. 1855 p. 3) (V. H. 185) ("Heiligung des Menschen" by J. Y.)
Z. Hornberger	1853	1893	E. M. 1853 p. 106.
Abr. Rudisill			E. M. 1853 p. 75.
Karolina Klein			C. B. 1853 p. 82; 1854 p. 50.
Wm. Yost	1853	1920	"Reminiscences," by Yost, pp. 21-2 212.
Reuben Yeakel	1854	1904	C. B. 1856 pp. 129, 194, 202; 1857 pp. 1, 9, 97, 113, 121, 129.) (Ep. 1869–71) (V. H. 13, 124, 128, 164, 190) etc.
M. Dissinger	1854	1883	Ep. Oct. 1884.
Peter Schwoerer			C. B. 1855 p. 51.
J. A. Reubelt			C. B. 1855 pp. 97, 105.
Elizabeth Ruth			C. B. 1857 p. 42.
Rudolph Dubs	1856	1915	C. B. 1867 and following.
J. Hartzler	1856		E. M. 1871 seq.) (Ep. Nov. 1884.)
W. F. Schneider	1858	1879	Ep. Apr. 1884.
Sue M. Orwig Hoffman		1876	F. E. H. index-poems.

VII. English Translation of Lehr's German Reprint, in 1891, of Solomon Neitz's Original Pamphlet of Feb. 9, 1857, by Ralph Kendall Schwab, May 4, 1920

Christian Sanctification According to Apostolic Teaching

"We say Christian sanctification [Heiligung] thereby to indicate that there is also a divine, a triumphant saints', an angelic, and a pre-Christian sanctification. God's holiness [Heiligkeit] is without limitations, measure and end.

"The man Jesus was once God's 'Most Holy' [Allerheiligste] on earth and God's people is now His 'holy' [heiliges]. The same was at all times holy, and whatever belongs to God, and did belong, that bears, and did bear the title of holiness. Therefore speech, in the holy scriptures, is about a holy land, holy temple, holy garments, holy oil, and the holy city, etc., and about holy angels and men. In its essence the pre-Christian holiness [Heiligung] was the same as the Christian; for God's kingdom, from very ancient time, and till eternity, partakes of the same nature. Therefore must its citizens and companions in the kingdom, previously and since then, also partake of the same nature. But in regard to its glorification and display the Christian 'holiness' may indeed be placed above the pre-Christian 'holy'; for it had not only the

highest, divine-human figure and pattern, as an example before it, but also, in addition, the great promise of the outpouring of the Spirit in the last days standing as its aid. Joel 3:1-5, Acts 2:16.

"To be holy [heilig] means to be pure from all kinds of impurity and sin which can make us unfit for holy activities, to be separate, and to be in a state in which a man may appear before the Lord and take part in holy affairs and exercises. To be sanctified [geheiligt] means, besides being separated, also to be picked out, to be chosen and appointed for doing things for God— to be a servant of God. In Isaiah (Chap. 13:3) the Lord even called the Medes his [Geheiligten] sanctified ones. To be [geheiligt] sanctified means also to be glorious and glorified; accordingly we pray in the Lord's Prayer: Hallowed [geheiligt] be Thy Name. That means glorious, glorified, honored and highly praised. We also should be hallowed [geheiligt]; we should be transfigured and glorified—in a moral regard be put into another nature and form—Gal. 4:1-19, and 2 Pet. 1:4-9. By nature the meditation of our heart is always evil and our manner of life is earthly, human, yes perhaps devilish. If we ever wish to become something to the praise and glory of God, then we must necessarily seek sanctification, without which no one shall see God. The Old Testament people of God were, according to the scriptures, a holy people, and

now the believers of the New Testament, as a people, bear the same title. The "body of Christ" is holy—'the temple of God is holy, which temple ye are.' The apostles called the multitude of the believers saints [Heilige]. Acts 9:13. 'And it came to pass as Peter passed through all quarters, he came down also to the saints [Heiligen] who dwelt at Lydda.' Acts 9:32. Paul wrote to those called saints [Heiligen] at Rome, and spoke in that epistle, in some twenty places, of a collection which was being gathered for the saints. The title of holiness, sanctification, and a sanctified nature belong thus to all Christians of the New Testament in common. 'They are the holy people.' 1 Pet. 2:9.

"The apostles therefore anticipated nothing of the sort, that there would be only here and there a [Geheiligter] sanctified person among the believers, that only a certain number of the same perhaps even would possess entire sanctification, but the rest of the converted lack it, or that sanctification was an extraordinary state of grace of only a few of their brethren. But they certainly give us completely the view of many stages in the state of grace of Christian perfection or sanctification. Christian Sanctification is, according to the teaching of the apostles, not only the high privilege, but also the sublime possession of the entire host of believers. This doctrine, promulgated in the church by certain ministers of the church from time to time—what

should we call it?—the special sanctification doctrine, lay far distant from the apostles. They taught cleansing from sins in accordance with Christ's urgent stipulation, 'Go and sin no more,' as taking place in justification and regeneration, as their doctrine of sanctification, and insisted upon a constant growth in the grace received in regeneration—this same should become more and more clear, the pious should 'thrive like the newborn child.' This [special] sanctification doctrine was, to all, a thing to be looked upon with dislike, and therefore the apostles stood in no need of complaining that so few had sought entire sanctification.

To them, all believers were such as also had obtained sanctification. They requested of them only that they should go on with the sanctification, asked that faith and love, with all other Christian virtues, might become more full in and about them. 1 Pet. 3:8; Rev. 7:1; Heb. 6:1. Which accords most excellently and empirically agrees with Christ's wonderfully intelligible teaching about the growth of the believers. John 15:1-16.

"In its inner essence, Christian sanctification is a general state of grace of believers wrought by the Holy Spirit (at the time of regeneration and renewal) in the heart. It is the latter half of justification through faith, by which the citizen, newly received into the kingdom of God, is made after the exact likeness of his Master, and

by sanctification becomes partaker of a like nature; for the condition of the regenerate is not only a childlike one, but one animated with the Holy Spirit. Rom. 8:14-17; Gal. 4:6. The justified person obtains, in his regeneration and renewal, powers of grace which make him capable of separating himself from all that which displeases God, and of bestirring himself, on the contrary, to do that which pleases God. Justification and sanctification are an inseparable work of grace which takes away our sinful debt and changes our condition in the law before God, our Judge; it takes the dominion of sin from us and alters our heart and life before God, our Father, and it all is wrought, partly for us, by Christ, and partly in us, by the Holy Spirit. Rom. 8:30; 1 Cor. 6:11.

"The essence of our sanctification accordingly consists in an inner remaking of the heart and in the very different direction of the will and of all impulses, so that all thinking and striving relates itself to God and the human nature stands under the influence of the Holy Spirit.

"This essence Paul expresses by the manifestations of unfeigned faith, good conscience, and a pure heart. 1 Tim. 1:5. The good conscience comes from faith, and if this is once present, the person is freed from accusation; then follows the pure heart, the renewal of the soul, the moderation of the desires so that these keep end and limits, and do not run over their

boundaries nor jump overboard; in order that sanctification may break forth in keeping with its inner and outer nature; for man should indeed be able to see it also with his eyes when the Lord converts Zion.

"According to its appearance, Christian sanctification is a fruit of evangelical repentance. Then, for the first time, can we console ourselves that we have brought forth honest fruits of repentance, when, on the tender stalk of the sorrow of penitence, the ear of sanctification has grown forth for us; for godly sorrow works in us and for us a result of blessedness. To be sure our natural unholiness (inbred sin) Christ covers,* against the wrath of God, with his purchased salvation. But from our voluntary and acquired unholiness (real sins) he cleanses us by the power of the merit of his blood, only upon condition of our repentance, in justification and regeneration.* Here works the Spirit which sanctifies, (Rom. 1:4) powerfully puts to death the old nature, kindles new light and new life in the heart, and renews us to a holy walk. Here man becomes "a new creature in Christ Jesus," the old is passed away, and now man has and bears the likeness of Him who has given the invitation into his wonderful light. Now can man cry Abba Father, in a holy state of evangelical adoption with good confidence, and rejoice in the blessed hope of future glory: for if man is once a child, then is man also an heir, and man feels differently.

"But this sanctification has, from then on, growth as a consequence, and indeed (growth) according to the necessity of the relations, destinies, and circumstances of the manifold calling of the "saints" and of their own nature in addition. This state of grace is obtained, as a rule, suddenly in regeneration at the time of the forgiveness of sins, but its growth is one of stages and ascends from degree to degree, and from perfection in time on into eternity. Phil. 1:6; John 10:9; Rev. 7:15 and 17; Prov. 4:18.

"Therefore believers have also an approach by faith to the grace in which they stand, and are invited with joy to come near to the throne of grace to get help at such times when help is needed. Therefore is the pure milk of the gospel prescribed for the sanctified also, in order that they may thrive thereby; and therefore must the branch remain on the vine, in order that it may become still more fruitful. Besides this the sanctified have the high calling to work in the vineyard of their Lord until the evening comes. They are to put their pound into the bank of exchange—to draw out the old man with his works, and no more to walk in their former way, but to live in holiness and righteousness well-pleasing to God, in order that Christian sanctification may bring its outward appearance to the day, and the hidden Christlife of the sanctified may reveal itself so much the longer. Amen.

S. Neitz.

Orwigsburg, Feb. 9, 1857."

*Note—Yeakel (Y. H. II 62-3) comments and quotes sentences which are not in the above. So I have concluded that Yeakel quoted from Neitz's 1858, or enlarged, pamphlet. If so Neitz's further words must have been inserted into the article of 1857 (just following what I marked with **) a few sentences to make clear, in 1858, what he had meant at that place in the 1857 pamphlet. I add the sentences that Yeakel quotes at the above point:

> "Although the defeated but not annihilated power of sin will still assert itself in the life of a person who stands in holiness, on the one hand by involuntary stirrings, which are present before the better volition can prevent it, and on the other hand, by an intrusion of sinful elements, even into actions that arise from a holy motive, for in our inner man we must, alas!, recognize a continuous root of sin, a certain evil potency which seeks to assert itself in a continuous connection with all the activities of our lives." "But if the new life has obtained a beginning in the Spirit, then the life of the old man can only continue in a state of subjection, and will, in case we are faithful, be always overcome by the divine life.—The strength of the old man will diminish continually, and be limited more and more to the mortal body, which is not yet regenerated, and will end certainly in the death of this body—if not sooner—as being the seat, though not the source of sin."

VIII. Solomon Neitz's Jovial Verses in Response to Bishop Long's Warning and Bishop Esher's Protest Lodged against Him in 1868

Neitz's poem, published in the Botschafter, Feb. 17, 1869, p. 50:

"Sporadisches"

"Ich muss noch in Kedar's Huetten,
Unter dem grossen Bischof Lang,
Fuehren einen Glaubenszank,
Leiden flegelhafte Tritte,*
Bis sein Herrscherzorn sich etwa leget;
Oder bis die Kirche mich nicht mehr vertraeget.
Da ich denn das Maul einstweilen werde halten
Und suchen meine eignen haeuslichen Sachen fein zu verwalten.
Vielleicht—ich boeser Suendenknueppel!
Darf doch den Himmel seh'n als Krueppel.
Sollte aber des juengeren Bischofs "Protest"
Dort hangen an des Himmels Pforte fest,
So sage ich es unserm alten Petrus ganz frei,
Dass der Streit nur wegen Schismatismus und eitler Ehre sei.
Ei Joseph und Jacob, wird Simon drauf sagen, ihr seid mir Zeloten!

Denkt ihr auch, dass solcher "Saechlein" wegen der Eingang hier sei verboten?
Ihr nehmt mir das Ding dort herab von der Pforte und tragt mir es schnelle nach Cleveland zurueck,
Und bringt mir's 'beileibe' nicht wieder hierher. Aber den Salomon bringt ihr mir mit.

Am. 3ten Febr. 1869. VOM BRUDER S. NEITZ."
Siehe Chr. Bot. Juni 17, 1868.

VIII. English Translation of Neitz's "Sporadisches," by Ralph Kendall Schwab, May 25, 1920

"SPORADIC VERSE"

"I must still, in tents of Kedar,
With the mighty Bishop Long,
Carry on dispute in doctrine,
Boorish treatment still endure,*
Till abates somewhat his lord-rage,
Or the church makes peace no more.
Meanwhile I shall maintain silence;
Manage well my own affairs.
Maybe I, base, sinful rascal,
Dare, a cripple, yet see heaven!
Should the younger bishop's 'protest'
Hang there fast on heaven's gate,
Then right frank I'll tell old Peter
'Twas just strife 'bout schism and pride.

'Aye, you're zealots, Joseph, Jacob,'
Then will Simon make reply,
'Do you think that for such trifles
Entrance here will be denied?
Take the thing there off the portal;
Take it back to Cleveland quick.
On your life, bring't not again, but
Bring me Solomon along.'
Feb. 3, 1869. By Brother S. Neitz."

*See the Botschafter, June 17, 1868.

IX. Number of Articles in the Church Papers on the Doctrine of Christian Perfection

Year	Botschafter	Messenger	Year	Botschafter	Messenger
1857	8	3	1873	18	26
1858	9	1	1874	13	27
1859	10	5	1875	12	7
1860	5	5	1876	7	26
1861	1	0	1877	20	20
1862	10	2	1878	5	5
1863	1	7	1879	8	12
1864	4	4	1880	11	10
1865	25	4	1881	6	2
1866	6	7	1882	8	7
1867	33	19	1883	5	5
1868	25	27	1884	8	5
1869	40	6	1885	2	2
1870	35	50	1886	0	4
1871	40	65	1887	7	4
1872	28	26			

Year	Botschafter	Messenger	Evangelical	Zeitung 1888–93 Zeitschrift 1894–1917
1888	8	18	0	0
1889	7	18	1	0
1890	5	15	1	0
1891	13	9	3	0
1892	5	13	3	3
1893	3	6	4	1
1894	10	14	4	2
1895	4	7	1	2
1896			0	5
1897			5	2
1898			3	2
1899			4	4
1900			4	0
1901			4	0
1902	5	6	1	4
1903	4	5	2	5
1904				

Year	Botschafter	Messenger	Evangelical	Zeitschrift
1905				
1906				
1907				
1908				
1909				
1910				
1911				
1912				
1913	3	6	3	1
1914	5	19	4	2
1915	0	10	6	3
1916	2	9	3	2
1917	3	5	2	1
1918	4	2	1	
1919	4	5	4	
1920	5	3	0	

X. Heading Chapter II, which follows the Articles of Faith in the proposed new discipline of The Evangelical Church, we find these three paragraphs:

Chapter II

The Doctrines of Regeneration, Sanctification and Christian Perfection

"¶23 Regeneration is that work of the Holy Spirit wrought in us whereby we are made partakers of the Divine nature, and experience newness of life in Christ Jesus. By this new birth the believer becomes a child of God, receives the spirit of adoption, and is made an heir of the kingdom of heaven.

"¶24. The witness of the Spirit is an inward impression on the soul, whereby the Spirit of God, the heavenly Comforter, immediately convinces the regenerate believer that he has passed from death unto life, that his sins are all forgiven, and that he is a child of God.

"¶25. Entire sanctification, or Christian perfection, is a state of righteousness and true holiness, which every regenerate believer may attain. It consists in being cleansed from all sin, loving God with all the heart, soul, mind, and strength and loving our neighbors as ourselves. This gracious state of perfect love is attainable in this life by faith, both gradually and instan-

taneously, and should be earnestly sought by every child of God. But it does not deliver us from the infirmities, ignorance and mistakes which are common to man."